



# India's Case for Swaraj

BY MAHATMA GANDHI.

BEING  
SELECT SPEECHES, WRITINGS, INTERVIEWS  
ETCETERA OF MAHATMA GANDHI  
IN ENGLAND AND INDIA

( *September 1931 to January 1932* )

FULL TEXT OF GANDHI-WILLINGDON CORRESPONDENCE  
AND  
LEAVES FROM SGT MAHADEO DESAI'S DIARY

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*Edited and Compiled by .*

WAMAN P. KABADI

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## *Publishers' Note to 2nd Edition*

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Almost within 48 hours of its publication, the first edition of this compilation went out of print. Indeed, the reception to the Book all over India and England was so warm that it was not possible to cope with all the orders registered even before it was out. Hence, the need for this 2nd edition.

Almost all of Mahatma's pronouncements since he landed on the Indian shore and the text of Gandhi-Willingdon Correspondence leading to the break of hostilities between the Government and the Indian National Congress are included in the present volume and, naturally, in view of their immediate importance, they have secured a precedence over his Speeches, Writings and Interviews while he was away from India.

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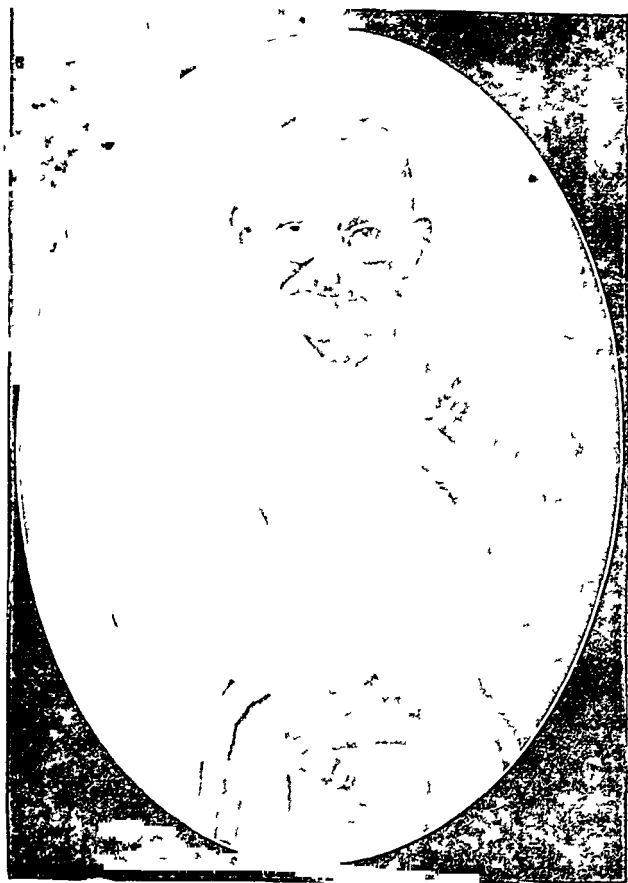
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## MAHATMA GANDHI



The only occasion when Mahatmajī gave  
a pose to a cameraman for the sake of  
Lord Irwin (in England )

SRIMATI KASTURBA GANDHI



*"Nations can only be made  
through the agony of the  
Cross "*

*"And what would not I have given to be  
able to bow my head before the living  
image at the Vatican of Christ Crucified "*

*"It was not without a wrench that I  
could bear myself away from that  
scene of living tragedy*

*"I saw there at once that Nations like  
Individuals could only be made through  
the agony of the Cross and in no  
other way*

*"Joy comes not out of infliction of pain  
on others but out of pain voluntarily  
borne by oneself "*

*—MAHATMA GANDHI,  
after his visit to the Vatican*

## Foreword.

From Yerawada to St James' is a far cry, but Gandhiji remains the same enigmatic and mythical figure to the ordinary man, whether he sits silently at his charkha in the dim light of the prison or amidst the ancient haunt of a Palace

With an unswerving directness of speech and almost incredible simplicity of action he has baffled the complex World over and over again, for man has so long been wandering in a vain quest along bye-paths and side lanes that he has nearly forgotten the straight road of Truth

When Gandhiji picked up a handful of salt on the sands of Dandi with almost childlike playfulness, some did scoff and scorn at his queer pranks, for the mud-streaked grains of salt were a poor enough weapon to be arrayed against the superb might of the British Empire. But "magical his fingers burn" and the common salt turns to an invincible spiritual force that shakes not merely the might of the British Empire but even the very solid foundations of a crude old fortress of a World entrenched securely behind the ostentatious protection of armaments, naval bases, aerodromes and poison gases. For, here was a new force, an inexplicable force, that chose to defy them and yet refused to touch them. Vanquished, yet loth to admit it, he is challenged to a wordy warfare on a combating ground situated in the very heart of the enemy's citadel

History has often painted pictures of rebels at the thrones of Kings, brave and defiant, flushed with self-righteousness. But, history will have to use a new brush and dreamily paint in soft pastel shades a picture that imagination can capture but one which will elude the most skilful of fingers. A frail figure sits scantily clothed in the biting English winter pierced on every side by keen doubting eyes, and pleads for those long forgotten truths of old. Each word is an echo, a memory, a haunting melody stirring up strange emotions, emotions that had been hidden away lest they should disturb. His words are not the traditional reverberations that thunder and peal and shatter the atmosphere. Fresh and vigorous, they drop clothed in graceful dignity. They are the eternal silences eloquent by virtue of their very quiet. Gentle yet terrible, soft yet unyielding, peaceful yet dynamic, his speeches have poured forth, as do floods of light when dawn sings out her purples and golds and scarlets, all merging ultimately white glow, smiling on the high and the low alike, blessing both the foe and the friend with the same divine beatitude.

Unique in their utterances, matchless in their simplicity, Gandhiji's Speeches create a new technique in political art. In the words of a young Indian writer he has demonstrated to the World "what the West with its Indian diplomacy and political manoeuvring forgets and what India with its slave-mentality has not yet grasped, that truthfulness is the best tactics and sincerity the supreme strategy."

Gandhiji has prepared a case not merely for India's Freedom but for a vaster and more comprehensive morality

in his own inimitable way he has shown that there cannot be two moral codes, one for the individual and one for the nation. His heart feels as much for the tyrant as for the victim, since the tyrant is but a greater victim of his own tyranny. And therefore, is there never a tinge of bitterness or sting in his speeches. Like the fresh waters of a spring they renovate all who come to drink of them. Equally free from arrogance are they, authoritative utterances as they are of the Sole Representative of the one-fifth of the human race, for it is their lowliness that renders them so magnificent. They have recast into newer moulds ideals of patriotism, nationalism and life itself, introducing a more correct perspective of things and values.

Gandhiji sums up his mission when he says "My goal is friendship with the World. Having flung aside the sword, there is nothing except the cup of love which I can offer to those who oppose me. It is by offering that cup that I expect to draw them close to me. I cannot think of permanent enmity between man and man,"

KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAYA.



# Introduction.

Before Mahatma Gandhi left for England, the decision of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress to send him as the sole representative of the Congress to the Round Table Conference was adversely criticised in non-Congress circles. The fear was expressed that Gandhi would be no match for the British politicians, who were recognised to be the world's most masterful diplomats, and that he would be hoodwinked by them into accepting a compromise which, while securing for the country the shadow, would deprive it of the substance, of Independence. But, the critics failed to realise the true inwardness of the decision of the Working Committee and they certainly did not know Gandhi.

The Congress had decided to co-operate with the Government in the work of the Round Table Conference not to wage a battle of diplomacy, much less to cajole and flatter them into making concessions, but to assert the right of the Indian people to be masters of their destiny and secure a re-adjustment of Indo-British relations on terms honourable to India as well as England. The Congress when it decided to co-operate had no mental reservation. It was prepared to go to the utmost limit of concession consistent with its fundamental demand for Freedom to enable both the countries to have a safe passage over the bridge which the Gandhi-Irwin Agreement had built. The co-operation it offered was genuine.



because it was the co-operation of an equal—of a body that was prepared successfully to demonstrate its ability to win its object by non-co-operation. The work, therefore, which the representative of the Congress had to do at the Conference was simple. It was at once to test whether England was ready to implement the Gentleman's Agreement which had brought about the Truce in India, whether, in short, she was prepared to relinquish control over the Indian Army, Foreign Relations and Finance—subject to safeguards demonstrably in the interests of India,—and to warn her that the only consequences of her refusal to do so would be a parting of the ways and the revival of the Satyagraha Campaign. Who was better fitted to accomplish this work than Gandhiji?

How well he has accomplished it is now known to the world. Attempts were made, in the first instance, to discredit him and to damage the cause of India because a carefully packed Conference did not do, what it could not do, namely, settle the communal problem. But, the attempts failed and the Premier, in his speech adjourning the Conference, had to declare that the framing of the Constitution should not depend upon a previous settlement of the communal question. How skilfully Mahatmajī compelled the masterful British diplomats to acknowledge defeat was, however, best demonstrated by his frustration of their cunning plan regarding Provincial Autonomy.

No single individual was honoured more than Gandhiji when India sent him as her sole plenipotentiary to England. No country was better and more nobly served by its plen-

potentiary than India by Gandhiji. The speeches which he delivered in England while carrying out his mandate will remain among the historic documents of the world and priceless possessions of India—a source of constant inspiration to her sons and daughters. They have been brought together in the present volume.

SYED ABDULLAH BRELVI

---

## Fighting Out of Love

---

"I am glad to be returning to India, but sorry to have to leave England That is my happy condition " These were Mahatma Gandhi's last words before leaving England, uttered to Reuter's special representative in a farewell message to the country as he was embarking

"The English people should believe me," continued Mahatma Gandhi, "when I say that if it falls to my lot to fight them, I will be engaged in the fight never out of hatred, but most surely out of love, even as I have fought some of my dearest relations Hence I am determined to make every effort to continue co-operation as far as it is consistent with national self-respect "





*Sketch by Kanu Desai*

## GANDHIJI'S FAVOURITE HYMNS

Lead, kindly Light, amid the encircling gloom,  
Lead Thou me on ,

The night is dark and I am far from home,  
Lead Thou me on ,

Keep Thou my feet, I do not ask to see  
The distant scene , one step enough for me

I was not ever thus, nor prayed that Thou  
Shouldst lead me on ,

I loved to choose and see my path , but now  
Lead Thou me on ,

I loved the garish day, and spite of fears,  
Pride ruled my will remember not past years  
So long Thy power hath blest me, sure it still  
Will lead me on,

O'er moor and fen, o'er crag and torrent till  
The night is gone,  
And with the morn, those angel faces smile,  
Which I have loved long since, and lost awhile  
Amen

---

( २ )

भजन की धुन.

रघुपति राघव राजाराम । पतितपावन मीताराम ॥

( ३ )

राग खमाज-धुमाळी

वैष्णवजन तो तेने कहाये, जे पीड पराई जाणे रे ।  
 परदु खे उपकार करे तांये, मन अभिमान न जाणे रे ॥  
 सकल लोकमा सहुने वदे, निंदा न करे केनी रे ।  
 वाच काछ मन निश्चळ राखे, धन धन जननी तेनी रे ॥  
 समदाष्टि ने तृष्णा त्यागी, परस्त्री जेने मात रे ।  
 जिव्हा थकी असत्य न बोले, परधन नव झाले हाथ रे ॥  
 मोह माया व्यापे नहि जेने, दृढ वैराग्य जेना मनमा रे ।  
 रामनाम शु ताली लागी, मकळ तीरथ तेना तनमा रे ॥  
 वणलोभी ने कपटरहित छे, काम क्रोध निवान्या रे ।  
 भणे नरसैयो तेनु दरंगन करता, कुळ एकोतेर तार्या रे ॥

( ४ )

राग छाया खमाज-तीन ताल

हरिनां मारग छे शूरानो, नहि कायरनु काम जोने ।  
 परथम पहेलुं सस्तक मूकी, वळती लेवु नाम जोने ॥  
 सुत वित दारा शीश समर्पे, ते पामे रस पीवा जोने ।  
 सिन्धु मध्ये मोती लेवा, माही पड्या मरजीवा जोने ॥  
 मरण आगळे ते भरे मूठी, दिलनी दुग्धा वामे जोने ।  
 तारे उभो जुवे तमासा, ते काडी नव पामे जोने ॥  
 प्रेमपथ पावकनी ज्वाळा, भाळी पाछा भागे जोने ।  
 माही पड्या ते महा सुख माणे, देखनारा दाक्षे जोने ॥  
 माया साटे मोघी वस्तु, सापडवी नहि स्हेल जोने ।  
 महा पद पाम्या ते मरजीवा, मूकी मननो मेल जोने ॥  
 राम जमलमा राता माता, पूरा प्रेमी परखे जोने ।  
 प्रातमना स्वामीनी लीला, ते रजनीदन निरखे जोने ॥

# A BIRTH DAY PRESENT

---

## Old English Charkha.

---

Mr Dey (Vice-President) and Mr Puri (Asst Sec) of the Gandhi Society, London called at Kingsley Hall on November 8, early in the morning to meet Mahatma Gandhi. The object of the visit was to make over the spinning wheel, which was presented to him on Oct 2nd at Westminster Palace Rooms as his birthday present by the Gandhi Society.

The name of the original donor, who presented the charkha to the Society was kept in secrecy at her request at the time. Mahatma had expressed a desire to meet her if she were present at the gathering. But she was not. The Swedish lady who is still in Sweden with her parents has requested Mr Brockway (President) and Mr Dara (Secretary) to depute Mr Puri (Asst Secretary) and her husband Dr Jatindra Nath Dey (Vice-President), a practising doctor in London, to wait upon the Mahatma and present the charkha with her respects. For, she finds, she would not be able to get back to London before Mahatma sails for India.

Mahatma was taken by a very agreeable surprise at the sight of the charkha. "Ah! charkha. Is it from Mr Dara" (and he smiled as he came out for his customary walk) "I have been waiting for it. I was wondering whether it will ever come to me", said he and laughed. "I am very glad to know it," he remarked, when he was told that Mrs Dey was very keen in handing over this old English charkha to him herself. She is in fact trying hard now to get a Swedish model for the Mahatma.

The most sensational part of the episode was the amazement which captured the Police detectives stationed at the



Kingsley Hall During the short hours of the morning, when they saw two brown faces jumping off the car and taking an old wooden wheel out, they evidently took it for something resembling an Indian machine-gun The "charkha" soon became the centre of the Police electric torches And they were not satisfied with the nature of this queer instrument, until they had read the tablet stamped on it, once, twice, thrice reading —

This Spinning-wheel is presented to Mahatma Gandhi at his 63rd birthday by the Gandhi Society, London

---

## GIFT OF POPPIES TO MAHATMA.

---

### British Weather Makes Gandhiji Optimistic.

---

On November 11, two women poppy sellers were waiting at Knightsbridge for a long time, as they were anxious that Mahatma Gandhi should receive presents of poppies from them As he was getting into his car to drive to Lady Astor's house amidst fine sunshine, Mahatma Gandhi's English friend paid two shillings for each poppy Mahatma Gandhi accepted the gift with an expression of thanks

Lady Astor also later presented him with another poppy Mahatmajī talked with her at great length on the Indian communal issue She showed concern about the Minorities and the Depressed classes Mahatma Gandhi, it is understood, explained to her how the Congress was working for the depressed classes He told his English companion, "I believe that there is still a silver lining to the cloud somewhere, and a solution of the Indian problem is still possible, because I find even in November, the sun is shining so gloriously in London I am amazed at it,"

His companion replied "Because you are in London."

## PREMIER'S "OFFER" TO INDIA AT A GLANCE.

---

The British Premier at the Plenary session of the Round Table Conference, in his announcement, which was endorsed by the Cabinet, repeated the assurance that the declaration of January 1931 remains

The Government reaffirms belief in an All-India Federation and intends to persist unsparingly in order to surmount the difficulty. The statement has been issued as a White Paper.

It is intended to ask for the Parliamentary approval immediately. Federation still holds the field. Provinces will be responsibly governed and will enjoy the greatest freedom.

The N W F P will be constituted immediately into a Governor's province with due regard to the Frontier's requirements.

Sind will be separated if Finances were safe. A conference will be called for this purpose.

A Working Committee of the R T Conference in India is proposed to keep in touch with both the countries, and a Franchise Committee, a Fact-Finding Committee and a Finance Committee with British statesmen as Chairmen will be set up.

Central Government will be responsible to the Legislature subject to Defence, and Foreign Affairs as reserved subjects under the control of the Governor-General and Financial safeguards are to remain

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# I AM RETURNING WITH HOPE ENRICHED

---

## Mahatma's Impression of British Ministers.

---

*"We have to work out our own Salvation in India by negotiation, if at all possible, by direct action if it becomes imperatively necessary"*—Writes Mahatma Gandhi in his first signed article in 'Young India' since he left India for England (written on board S S Pilsna on December 23, "in ignorance of the situation in India")

After narrating briefly his experiences in England and Europe Gandhi says that he returns to India not with disappointment, but with hope enriched

Regarding the R T C and the attitude of British Ministers, Gandhi says that it would be wrong to think that the latter are humbugs and that they do not mean what they say His impression of them was they were honest but labouring under a heavy handicap, being misinformed by their agents in India

About Sir Samuel Hoare, Gandhi says he is quite frank and straightforward and capable of advising or approving ruthless repression and of hitting the hardest

Gandhi has come to the conclusion that Britain is in no mood to concede power to India

"How can power be wrested from such unwilling hands?"—he asks

*By demonstrating the strength of the non-violent movement, he answers*

*"It appears to me that another fiery ordeal is a necessity of the case", but he adds "I shall come to no hasty conclusions"*

---

"Never since taking up the editorship of "Young India" have I, though not being on a sickbed or in a prison, been unable to send something for "Young India" or "Navajivan", as I was during my stay in London

The uninterrupted series of engagements keeping me awake till over midnight made it physically impossible for me to write anything for these Journals. Fortunately, Mahadev Desai was with me and though he too was overworked, he was able to send a full weekly budget for "Young India"

Nevertheless the reader will expect me to give my own impressions of the London visit

Though I approached the visit, in fear and trembling, I am not sorry for having gone there. It brought me in touch with the responsible Englishmen and women as also with the man in the street. This experience will be of inestimable value in future, whether we have to put up a fight again or not. It is no small matter to know with whom you are fighting or dealing

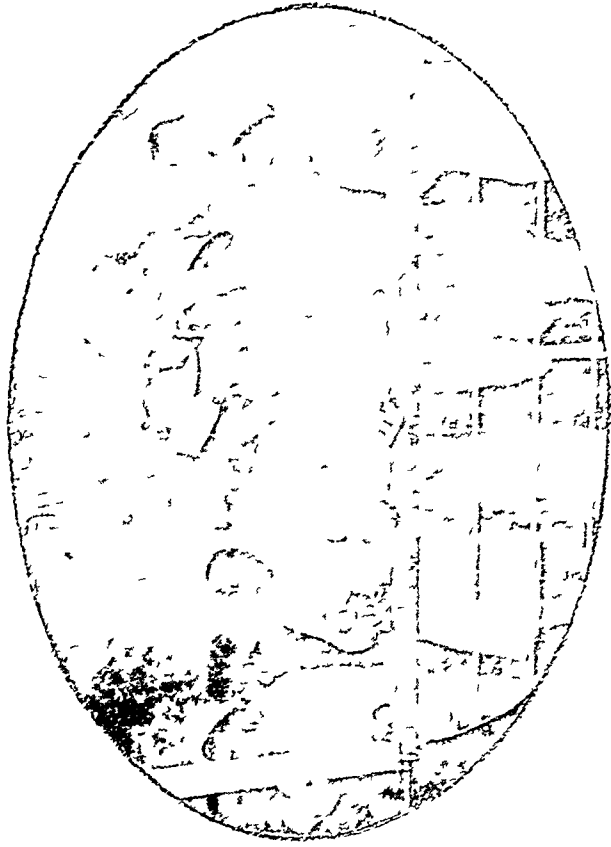
It was a good thing that Muriel Lester, the soul of Kingsley Hall settlement, invited me to stay at her settlement

and that I was able to accept the invitation. The choice lay between Kingsley Hall and Mr Birla's Arya Bhavan. I had no difficulty in making my choice nor had Mr Birla. But great pressure was put upon me by Indian friends, and that naturally, to stay at Arya Bhavan. Experience showed that Kingsley Hall was an ideal choice. It is situated among the poor of London and is dedicated purely to their service. Several women and some men, under the inspiration of Muriel Lester, have dedicated themselves to such service. Not a corner of the big building is used for any other purpose. There is religious service, there are entertainments, there are lectures, billiards, reading-room, etc ; for the use of the poor. The inmates live a life of severe simplicity.

### POTENCY OF LOVE

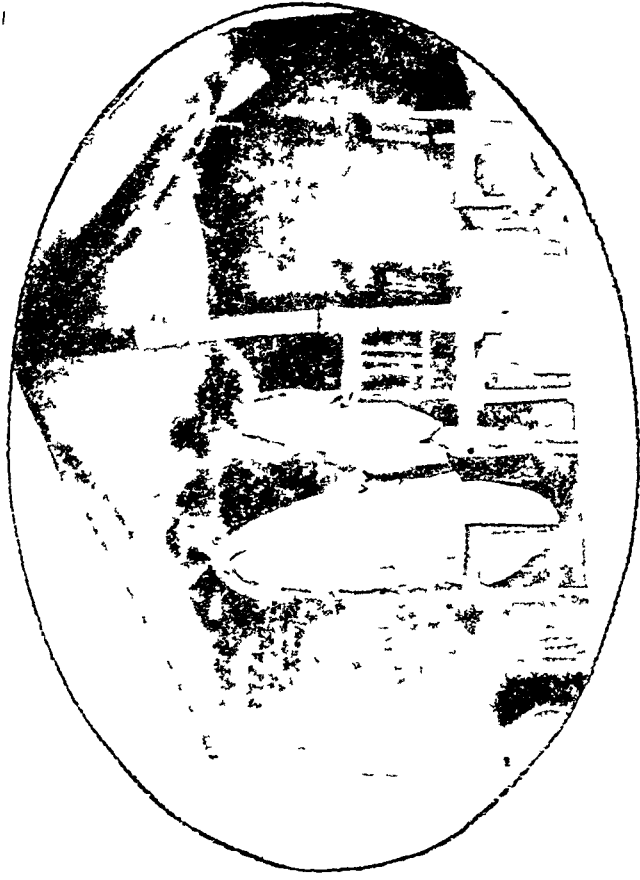
There is no superfluous furniture to be found in all that settlement. The inmates occupy tiny rooms called cells. It was no joke to accommodate five of us in that settlement. But love makes room where there is none. Four settlers vacated their cells which were placed at our disposal. Beddings etc. had to be borrowed. Fortunately, we had all armed ourselves with sufficient blankets and being used to squat on the floor most of the articles borrowed could be returned. But there was no doubt, my presence at the settlement put a severe tax on its time, space and other resources. But the good people would not hear of my leaving it. And to me it was a privilege to receive the loving, silent and unseen services of the members and a perennial joy to come in vital contact with the poor of the East End of London. Needless to say I was able to live exactly as in India and early morning walks through the streets

## THE SPOKESMAN RETURNS.



Mahatmapati with Smt. Vithalbhai Patel on board the  
steamer Pilsna just before landing

## THE LAST CHAT



Mahatmaj and Sardar having last chat on the terrace  
of the Muni Bhawan after the prayer on the eve  
of the arrest

of East London are a memory that can never be effaced  
 During these walks I had most intimate talks with those members  
 who joined me and others whom Muriel allowed For she  
 was a vigilant guardian of my time whilst I was in the settlement  
 And she would get easily angry, if she heard that my time was  
 being abused by people when she was not by me

During my stay in East London I saw the best side of  
 human nature and was able to confirm my intuitive opinion that  
 at bottom there was neither East nor West And as I received  
 the smiling greetings of the East Ender, I knew that they had  
 no malice in them and they wanted India to regain her independence  
 This experience has brought me closer to England if  
 such a thing was possible For me the fight is never with  
 individuals, it is ever with their manners and their measures  
 But this intimate contact with the simple poor people of the  
 East End, including the little children, will put me still more on  
 my guard against any hasty action

### "SANEST JOURNAL IN WORLD"

I may not omit my all too brief experience of Lancashire  
 and its operatives and employers whom, to my agreeable  
 surprise, I found to be so free from prejudice and receptive of  
 new facts and arguments drawn from them Here of course,  
 the ground was prepared for me by Charlie Andrews

2 I must mention too the never-to-be-forgotten visit to  
 Mr C. P. Scott of the "Manchester Guardian," the most  
 impartial and the most honest paper in Great Britain A  
 great British statesman told me the "Guardian" was the  
 sanest and the most honest journal in the world



Nor can I easily forget the communions at Canterbury, Chichester, Oxford, Cambridge and Eton. They gave me an insight into the working of the British mind which I could have got through no other means. These contacts have brought about friendships which endure for ever. I do not omit the two detectives and their companions and the many constables who were told off to look after me. To me sergeants Evans and Rogers, the two detectives were no mere police officers. They became my trusty, guides and friends looking after my comforts with the punctilious care of loving nurses. And it was a matter of great joy to me that they were permitted at my request to accompany me as far as Brindisi.

Last, but not least, was my pilgrimage to Romain Rolland the sage of Villeneuve. Could I have left India just to visit him and his inseparable sister Madeline, his interpreter and friend, I would have undertaken the voyage. But that could not be. The excuse of the Round Table Conference made this pilgrimage easily possible, and chance threw Rome in my way. And I was able to see something of that great and ancient city and Mussolini, the unquestioned dictator of Italy. And what would not I have given to be able to bow my head before the living image at the Vatican of Christ Crucified? It was not without a wrench that I could tear myself away from that scene of living tragedy. I saw there at once that nations like individuals could only be made through the agony of the Cross and in no other way. Joy comes not out of infliction of pain on others but out of pain voluntarily borne by oneself.

## RETURNED WITH HOPE ENRICHED

I am, therefore, returning home not filled with disappointment but with hope enriched. This hope is based on the fact that what I saw in England and on the Continent not only did not shake my faith in truth and non-violence but on the contrary strongly confirmed it. I found too, many more kindred spirits than I had expected.

Of the Round Table Conference there is nothing new I can report. I spoke out plainly what I thought about its composition and its achievements. One thing, however, I would like to say here. It would be wrong to think that the British Ministers are humbugs and that they do not mean what they say. I have come away with the impression that they are honest in their professions but they are labouring under a heavy handicap. The delegates, whilst seemingly unanimous over fundamentals betrayed amazing differences on details of fundamental importance. The minorities' question became a hopeless tangle, not wholly through the fault of the Ministers. But, after all, this was a temporary handicap. Their greatest handicap lay in their being spoonfed on one-sided and often hopelessly false statements and anti-nationalist opinions received by them from their agents in India ever since the commencement of the British Raj. For the Ministers this information is generally gospel truth. They, therefore, believe us to be incapable of handling our own defence and finance. They believe that the presence of British troops and British civilians is necessary for the well-being of India. Perhaps there is no nation on earth equal to the British in capacity for self-deception.

## TRIBUTE TO SIR S HOARE

In conformation of what I am writing, I would commend to the reader the speech delivered by Sir Samuel Hoare at the House of Commons at the debate on the White Paper. In spite of warnings to the contrary, each time I saw the Secretary of State for India, I came away with a higher opinion of his honesty and frankness. Of all the British Ministers I found him to be the most straightforward and frank. He is also a strong man but he is a hard man. I believe him to be capable of advising or approving of ruthless repression and of hitting the hardest. And he would honestly think that he was merciful even as a surgeon is merciful who applies the knife when he must with a steady and strong hand. This Secretary of State is a hard working conscientious man who would slave away even though he might have a temperature. He knows his mind at a given moment. He has behind him all the British parties and the largest majority known in modern British history. His speech, therefore, is the best British type. And yet it falls hopelessly short of the Congress demand and is based, as Congressmen would say on utterly wrong data which unfortunately he believes in common with many honest British statesmen.

How can this British mentality be changed or in other words how can power be wrested from such unwilling hands? No argument will carry conviction to these statesmen. They are all seasoned hard-headed soldiers. They like and appreciate facts, deeds. They will understand an open rebellion and if they cannot suppress it, they will at once admit that we are capable of defending ourselves and administering our

own affairs And I have come away with my views confirmed that they will also understand and perhaps more quickly appreciate a non-violent rebellion But the unfortunate fact is that they do not believe in our corporate non-violence And what is more they believe that corporate non-violence on a mass scale is impossible No argument can remove this disbelief Only actual experience can induce faith

Nor do they believe that the Congress is really the party that can deliver the goods Even General Smuts could not convince them that the Congress was such a party How could he in the teeth of reports to the contrary from their agents in India ?

Thus it appears to me that a further fiery ordeal is a necessity of the case The British mind is not ready for anything radically more than the Prime Minister's declaration

### "INDIA, TRUE BATTLE-GROUND"

But I can come to no hasty conclusion This is being written on 23rd December on s s "Pilsna" in ignorance of the situation in India I do not know what possibilities there still are for further negotiation Nor do I know how far the situation in Bengal, United Provinces, Gujarat, and the South permit of peaceful negotiations

This much is clearer to me than ever before that our true battle ground is not London, it is India We have to convert not the British Ministers, but the British civilians in India The strongest Secretary of state for India cannot move much beyond the advice of his Local Agents India Office

is a clog on the wheel of India's progress The real power resides in the 250 District Collectors, not even in Viceroy These Collectors have powers no where enjoyed on earth even by real dictators The latter do not have behind them the machinery of a mighty Government, which the Collectors can move at will

But thus stated the problem becomes incredibly simple Each district has the key to the situation in its own hands We have to work out our own salvation in India by negotiation if at all possible, by direct action, if it becomes imperatively necessary I know that I shall not light-heartedly invite the Nation to the ordeal, nor shall I hesitate if I find no way out to advise action I shall strain every nerve to discover a way out "

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## GANDHI-WILLINGDON CORRESPONDENCE

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### Request for Audience Turned Down.

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*Mahatma Gandhi was hardly prepared for the situation which he found in India on his landing*

*The rule of ordinances had already commenced in Bengal, in the United Provinces and the North West Frontier Province*

*Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, General Secretary of the Congress and Mr Sherwani, a member of the Working Committee, were jailed and Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan (the Frontier Gandhi) was deported along with his brother and nephews*

*On the top of this all there were shootings in the Frontier*

*To get enlightenment and "guidance" the following telegram was sent by Mahatmaji to the Viceroy on the 29th December, 1931 —*

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### **Mahatma's Telegram to Viceroy.**

"I was unprepared on landing yesterday to find Frontier and U P Ordinances, shootings in Frontier and arrests of valued comrades in both on the top of the Bengal Ordinance waiting me.

I do not know whether I am to regard these as an indication that friendly relations between us are closed or whether you expect me still to see you and receive guidance from you

as to the course I am to pursue in advising the Congress  
I would esteem a wire in reply "

---

### Viceroy's Reply.

The following reply was received at Mani Bhuvan from the Private Secretary to the Viceroy to the above telegram on 31st December :—

His Excellency desires me to thank you for your telegram of the 29th instant in which you refer to Bengal and United Provinces and the N W F P Ordinances In regard to Bengal it has been and is necessary for Government to take all possible measures to prevent dastardly assassination of their officers and of private citizens

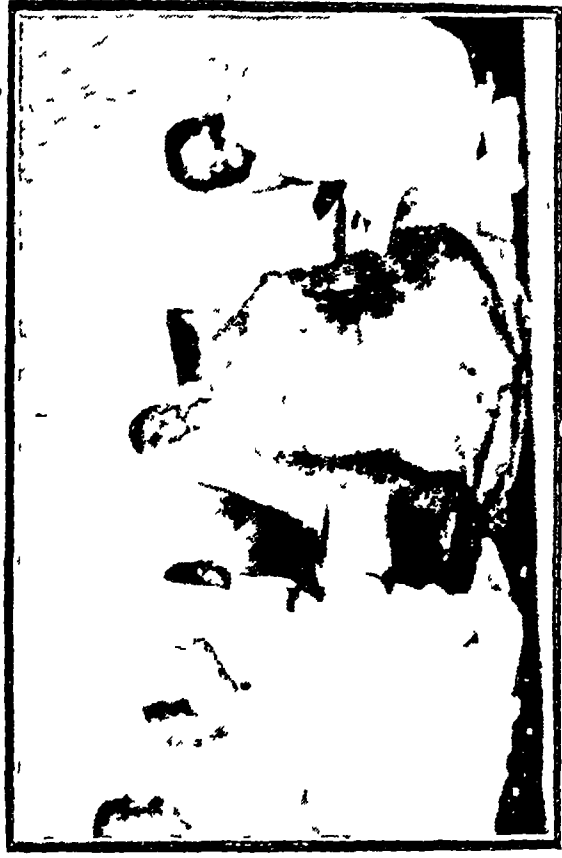
### DEMAND FOR SURRENDER

His Excellency wishes me to say that he and his Government desire to have friendly relations with all political parties and with all sections of the public and in particular to securing co-operation of all in the great work of the constitutional reforms which they are determined to push forward with minimum delay Co-operation, however, must be mutual and His Excellency and his Government cannot reconcile the activities of the Congress in the United Provinces and the N W F P with the spirit of friendly co-operation which the good of India demands

### U P SITUATION

As regards United Provinces you are doubtless aware that while the local Government were engaged in devising means to give all possible relief in the existing situation the Provincial Congress Committee authorised a no-rent campaign

And, Now tell me what all Happened in my absence



Mahatma met with the Congress President and other Comrades and acquainting hims. If  
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## A HOMELY SCENE AT MANI BIUWAN



Gandhi sitting with co workers, Mira Ben taking orders from the Master

which is now being vigorously pursued by Congress bodies has compelled Government to take measures to prevent a general state of disorder and spreading of class and communal hatred which the campaign, if continued, unchecked would inevitably involve.

### “FRONTIER GANDHI'S ACTIVITIES.

In N W F P Abdul Gaffar Khan and the bodies he controlled have continuously engaged in activities against Government and in fomenting racial hatred. He and his friends have persistently refused all overtures by the Chief Commissioner to secure their co-operation and, rejecting the declaration of the Prime Minister, have declared in favour of complete independence.

### INCITEMENT TO REVOLUTION

Abdul Gaffar Khan has delivered numerous speeches open to no other construction than as incitements to revolution and his adherents have attempted to stir up trouble in tribal areas. The Chief Commissioner, with the approval of his Excellency's Government, has shown utmost forbearance and to the last moment continued his efforts to secure assistance of Abdul Gaffar Khan in carrying into effect, with intentions of His Majesty's Government regarding constitutional reforms in the province. Government refrained from taking special measures until the activities of Abdul Gaffar Khan and his associates and in particular the open and intensive preparation for an early conflict with Government created a situation of such grave menace to the peace of the province and of the tribal areas as to make it impossible further to delay action.

His Excellency understands that Abdul Gaffar Khan was in August last made responsible for leading the Congress Movement in Province and that the volunteer organisations he controlled were specifically recognised by the All India Congress Committee as Congress Organisations. His Excellency desires me to make it clear that his responsibilities for peace and order make it impossible for him to have any dealing with persons or organisations, upon whom rests the responsibility for the activities outlined above.

### CONDITIONAL INTERVIEW

You have yourself been absent from India on the business of the Round Table Conference and in the light of the attitude which you have observed there, His Excellency is unwilling to believe that you have personally any share in the responsibility for, or that you approve of, the recent activities of the Congress in the United Provinces and in the North W F P. If this is so he is willing to see you and to give you his views as to the way in which you can best exert your influence to maintain the spirit of co-operation which animated the proceedings of the Round Table Conference, but His Excellency feels bound to emphasise that he will not be prepared to discuss with you measures which the Government of India, with the full approval of His Majesty's Government, have found it necessary to adopt in Bengal, the United Provinces and the N. W F P.

These measures must in any case be kept in force until they have served the purpose for which they were imposed, namely, preservation of law and order essential to good

Government On receipt of your reply His Excellency proposes to publish this correspondence."

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### Mahatma's Rejoinder.

The following is Mahatmajī's rejoinder to the Viceroy's reply —

I thank His Excellency for the wire in reply to mine of 29th instant It grieves me, for His Excellency has rejected in a manner hardly befitting his high position an advance made in friendliest spirit I had approached as a seeker wanting light on questions upon which I desired to understand the Government version of very serious and extraordinary measures to which I made reference Instead of appreciating my advance His Excellency has rejected it by asking me to repudiate my valued colleagues in advance and telling me that even if I became guilty of such dishonourable conduct and sought interview I could not even discuss these matters of vital importance to the Nation

### REFORMS QUESTION GOES OVERBOARD.

In my opinion the constitutional issue dwindles into insignificance in the face of the Ordinances and acts which must, if not met with stubborn resistance, end in utter demoralisation of the Nation I hope no self-respecting Indian will run the risk of killing the national spirit for a doubtful contingency of securing a constitution to work which no Nation with stamina may be left Let me also point out that as to the Frontier Province your telegram contains a narration of facts which on the face of them furnish no warrant for arrests of popular leaders passing

extra-legal Ordinance making life and property utterly insecure and shooting unarmed [peaceful] crowds for daring to demonstrate against the arrest of their trusted leaders.

## IN DEFENCE OF ABDUL GAFFAR KHAN

If Khan Saheb Abdul Gaffar asserted the right to complete independence it was a natural claim and a claim made with impunity by the Congress at Lahore in 1929 and by me with energy put before the British Government in London. Moreover let me remind the Viceroy that despite the knowledge on the Government's part that the Congress mandate contained such a claim I was invited to attend the London Conference as the Congress delegate. Nor am I able to detect in a mere refusal to attend a Darbar an offence warranting summary imprisonment. In refusing to attend a Darbar if Khan Saheb was fomenting racial hatred it was undoubtedly regrettable. I have his own declarations to the contrary made to me, but assuming that he did foment racial hatred he was entitled to an open trial where he could have defended himself against the accusation.

## CASE OF U P

Regarding the United Provinces His Excellency is surely misinformed because there was no no-rent campaign authorised by the Congress, but whilst negotiations were proceeding between Government and Congress representatives, the time for collection of rents actually arrived and rents began to be demanded and rents were being freely demanded. Congress-men were, therefore, obliged to advise tenants to suspend payment pending the result of negotiations and

Mr Sherwani had offered on behalf of the Congress to withdraw this advice if the authorities on their initiative suspended collections pending negotiations. I venture to suggest that this is not a matter which can be so summarily dismissed as your wire has done. The controversy in the United Provinces is of long standing and involves the well-being of millions of peasantry known to be economically ground down.

### RIGHT OF NON-PAYMENT

Any Government jealous of the welfare of the masses in its charge would welcome voluntary co-operation of a big body like the Congress which admittedly exercises great influence over the masses and whose one ambition is to serve them faithfully, and let me add that I regard the withholding of payment of taxes as an inalienable ancient and natural right of a people who have exhausted all other means of seeking freedom from an unbearable economic burden.

### SUGGESTION REPUDIATED

I must repudiate suggestion that the Congress has the slightest desire to promote disorder in any shape or form. As to Bengal the Congress is at one with the Government in condemning assassinations and should heartily co-operate with Government in measures that may be found necessary to stamp out such crimes. But whilst the Congress would condemn in unmeasured terms methods of terrorism, it can in no way associate itself with Government terrorism as is betrayed by the Bengal Ordinance and the acts done thereunder, but must resist within the limits of its prescribed creed of non-violence such measures of legalised Government terrorism. I



heartily assent to the proposition laid down in your telegram that co-operation must be mutual But your telegram leads me irresistibly to the conclusion that His Excellency demands co-operation from the Congress without returning any on behalf of Government

### PEREMPTORY REFUSAL

I can read in no other way his peremptory refusal to discuss these matters which as I have endeavoured to show have at least two sides The popular side, I have put as I understand it, but before committing myself to a definite judgment I was anxious to understand the other, that is, the Government side and then tender my advice to the Congress With reference to the last para of your telegram I may not repudiate moral liability for the actions of my colleagues whether in the Frontier Province or United Provinces but I confess that I was ignorant of the detailed actions and activities of my colleagues whilst I was absent from India and it was because it was necessary for me to advise and guide the Working Committee of the Congress and in order to complete my knowledge I sought with an open mind and with the best of intentions an interview with His Excellency and deliberately asked for his guidance

### RECONSIDER DECISION

I cannot conceal from His Excellency my opinion that the reply he has condescended to send was hardly a return for my friendly and well-meant approach And if it is not yet too late I would ask His Excellency to reconsider his decision and see me as a friend without imposing any conditions whatsoever as to the scope or subject of discussion and I on my part can promise that I would study with an open mind

all the facts that he might put before me I would unhesitatingly and willingly go to the respective provinces and with the aid of the authorities study both sides of the question and if I came to the conclusion after such a study that the people were in the wrong and that the Working Committee including myself were misled as to the correct position and that the Government was right, I should have no hesitation whatsoever in making that open confession and guiding the Congress accordingly

Along with my desire and willingness to co-operate with the Government I must place my limitations before His Excellency Non-violence is my absolute creed I believe that civil disobedience is not only the natural right of a people especially when they have no effective voice in their own Government but that it also is an effective substitute for violence or armed rebellion

### TENTATIVE STEP

"I can never, therefore, deny my creed In pursuance thereof and on the strength of uncontradicted reports supported by the recent activities of the Government of India to the effect that there may be no other opportunity for me to guide the public, the Working Committee has accepted my advice and passed a resolution tentatively sketching a plan of civil disobedience I am sending herewith the text of the resolution. If His Excellency thinks it worth-while to see me the operation of the resolution will be suspended pending our discussion in the hope that it may result in the resolution being finally given up I admit that the correspondence between His

Excellency and myself is of such grave importance as not to brook delay in publication I am, therefore, sending my telegram, your reply, this rejoinder and the Working Committee's resolution for publication "

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### Viceroy's Reply

The following is the text of the telegram which the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy sent to Mahatma Gandhi in the evening of January, 2, 1932

"His Excellency has asked me to acknowledge receipt of your telegram of 1st January which has been considered by him and his Government They much regret to observe that under your advice the Congress Working Committee has passed a resolution which involves general revival of Civil Disobedience unless certain conditions are satisfied which are stated in your telegram and the resolution

"They regard the attitude as the more deplorable in view of the declared intentions of His Majesty's Government and the Government of India to expedite the policy of constitutional reform contained in the Premier's Statement.

"No Government consistent with the discharge of their responsibility can be subject to the condition sought to be imposed under the menace of unlawful action by any political organisation nor can the Government of India accept the position implied in your telegram that their policy should be dependent on the judgment of yourself as to the necessity of the

measures which Government have taken after the most careful and thorough consideration of the Pact and after all other possible remedies had been exhausted

His Excellency and the Government can hardly believe that you or the Working Committee contemplate that His Excellency can invite you with the hope of any advantage to an interview held under the threat of resumption of Civil Disobedience

“ We must hold you and the Congress responsible for all the consequences that may ensue for the action which the Congress have announced their intention of taking and to meet which Government will take all necessary measures ”

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## “I AM PREPARING FOR ARREST”

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### Mahatma Reiterates His Pledges.

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*When the Viceroy's reply was handed to the Mahatma he only smiled and remarked*

“Now I am preparing to go to jail.”

*Mrs Kasturba Gandhi and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel were seated around Gandhiji when the pressmen asked for a message*

*The Mahatma gave the following Message to the country through the Press*

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It is a matter of deep regret to me to have received this telegram from His Excellency and his Government. I cannot help saying that it has heaped error upon error instead of courageously acknowledging the first error in practically banging the door in my face by imposing for the coveted interview conditions which no self-respecting man can possibly accept and re-opening the door. The telegram has added another error by deliberately and finally shutting the door by telling me that he cannot see me under threat of resumption of Civil Disobedience and introducing the argument that is not germane to my repeated request for an interview.

### FLAGRANT BREACH

The Viceroy and his Government have committed a flagrant breach of the Delhi Pact by using the so-called threat of resumption of Civil Disobedience as an excuse for refusing to see me. Surely he must know that the negotiations which resulted in the settlement were being carried on although Civil Disobedience was still on, and under the settlement it was never finally given up but was only discontinued for the purpose of securing the representation of the Congress at the R T C it being understood that it was likely to be resumed if the R T C failed to do satisfaction in respect of the national demand.

### RIGHT OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

To this I wish to add the second settlement that was arrived at Simla immediately prior to my departure for London. On examining the correspondence that has passed between myself and Government it will be seen that notwithstanding

the Truce I had reserved to myself the right to take up Civil Disobedience by way of defensive action in connection with grievances about which relief might be unattainable through milder methods. Surely if Civil Disobedience was such a heinous crime the Government could never have exchanged correspondence on that basis and sent me to London with Viceregal blessings, but I see that with the change of times manners have also changed. The Nation must now respond to the challenge of the Government.

### NON-VIOLENCE AT ALL COSTS

It is to be hoped however, that whilst the people belonging to all classes and creeds will courageously and in all humility go through the fiery ordeal considering no price too dear and no suffering too great, they will observe strictest Non-violence in thought, word and deed, no matter how great the provocation may be. I would also urge them not to be angry with the administrators. It is not easy for them to shed the habit handed down from generation to generation. Our quarrel is not with men, but with measures. We have faith in ourselves and therefore, it is in human nature to feel that if we suffer long enough and in the proper spirit our sufferings must result in converting the administrators.

### PLEDGE TO PREMIER

After all let us realise that the greater and the longer the sufferings, the greater would be our fitness for Swaraj for which we are embarking upon the fiery ordeal. I would remind the nation of the pledge I gave to the Prime Minister towards the end of the Plenary Session of the R T C that

there shall be no malice in the struggle if it fell to our lot to resume it and that we would do nothing unworthy I shall trust every Indian to redeem the pledge

### TO ENGLISHMEN

To the Englishmen I would say "Beware of the false reports that are often dished up for them from morning to morning and evening to evening as to the doings of the Congress in India This feeding on false information or starvation due to suppression of correct information is the great barrier to heart to heart co-operation "

### MESSAGE TO AMERICA.

To an American Press correspondent Gandhiji gave the following message —

On the eve of embarking on what promises to be a deadly struggle, I would expect the numerous American friends to watch its career and use the influence of the great nation for the sake of oppressed humanity This Indian struggle is more than national It has an international value and importance I am convinced that if my countrymen and women retain up to the last the spirit of Non-violence they will have inaugurated a New Era upon earth

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## "I SHALL TAKE NO HASTY STEP"

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*"As I approach the shores of India," said Mahatma Gandhi solemnly to Reuter's correspondent during the last day at sea, "I am weighed down with a sense of tremendous responsibility, even as I was upon approaching London"*

*"Only, this time the responsibility is a thousandfold greater*

*"I shall therefore take no hasty step I shall exhaust every resource at my disposal, before advising India once more to go through the fire of suffering*

*"I am constantly praying for God's guidance I know He will not fail me if I remain true to my creed"*

*"Thank God my faith in truth and non-violence for national purposes has become strengthened by my European visit, if there was any room for further strengthening"*

*"I have no other end to serve in this life"*

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## R. T. C.—A DEBATING SOCIETY.

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### Congress Co-operation Depends upon Government.

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*"Have you any intention of seeing the Viceroy?" was a significant question put to Mahatmajī by a journalist when the former gave an interview to the Pressmen sometime after he broke the vow of silence at noon on Monday, December 28, the day of landing on the Indian shore*

*"I have many intentions, but what is the use of them?" was the prophetic rejoinder of Mahatmajī*

---

Asked about his experiences of the R T C Mahatmajī said

My experience of the R T C is that it was a debating society. And it was not certainly 'representative' in the sense it has been claimed to have been representative. It was not in any sense of the word a Round Table Conference

Asked if it would not have been better for the Congress to have been represented by more than one delegate Gandhiji said :

I am convinced after my experience that it was the wisest decision to have sent me alone. It would have been a first class tragedy if 14 or 15 good servants of the nation had to be sent out of the country.

Moreover, when the mandate was absolutely clear, it was not necessary—unless of course the Congress had distrusted its agent. The Congress has not only not suffered but immensely gained.

Mahatmaji declined to give any opinion on the Premier's statement.

He said that he had studied it thoroughly but he would not express any opinion.

If I had a free hand I could give my opinion but I am a representative, he said.

## THE TRUCE

Declining to express any opinion, on the latest developments Gandhiji said it was for Sardar Vallabhbhai to say whether the Truce had been broken or not by the Government.

In view of the present developments do you consider it possible for the R T C Committee to work successfully?

"It will be for the Government to consider it," replied Mahatmaji.

Q Have you any intention of seeing the Viceroy?

A I have many intentions but what is the use of them?

He added that he would "closet" himself with the Working Committee for the next few days.

Q Do you think that the future prospects are gloomy?

Mahatmaji : No I do not think so A Satyagrahi can never be gloomy. We may have to undergo another fiery ordeal but I should not think it to be a gloomy prospect

Naturally I shall strain every nerve to avoid it But it would be unbecoming of a warrior not to face an ordeal

### WHAT ABOUT UNTOUCHABLES ?

Someone asked Gandhiji why the Untouchables were angry with him Gandhiji replied -

I do not know they are angry I deny they are angry with me The Depressed Classes are the bone of my bone and the flesh of my flesh

"I would gladly die so that they may live I myself belong to the Depressed Class," he smilingly added

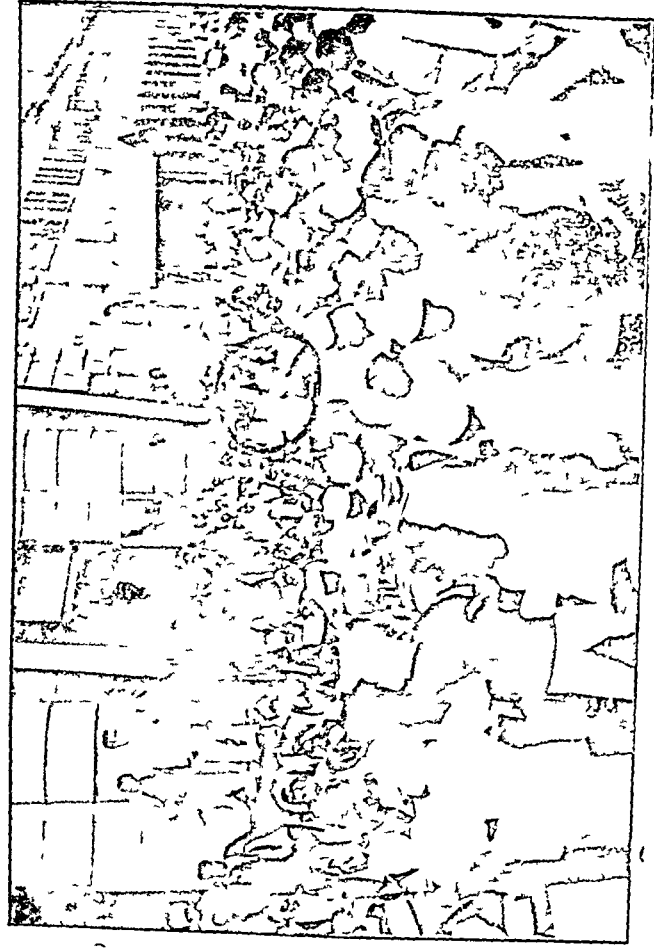
Mahatmaji declared that he would not say anything regarding the R T C. or Truce now but would make a statement at the evening meeting

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A close up view of the Rostum at Azad Maidan meeting ( December 28 1931 ).

## ON RETURN TO INDIA



Enthusiastic scenes marked the landing on Indian shores of the Mahatma on 25th December, 1931  
(Mcerring) In the circle Mahatma & Sardar Vallabhbhai sitting in a decorated car

**"BE READY FOR ANOTHER ORDEAL."**

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**Peace if possible, War if Necessary."**

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**"Hopes of Co-operation Dashed to Pieces."**

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*Mahatma Gandhi addressed a mass meeting at 5 o'clock on Monday evening, (December 28th), at the Azad Maidan, which for its size would stand alone without a parallel in the history of mammoth meetings, for which Bombay is famous*

*All roads literally led to the maidan from early in the afternoon and in spite of the scorching sun lakhs and lakhs of men and women were pouring in and before Gandhiji ascended the rostrum, 20 ft high, there was before him a vast concourse of humanity stretching far beyond towards Dhobi Talao*

*The meeting was also unique on account of the perfectness of the arrangements and the absolute order and silence that was maintained throughout*

*Gandhiji spoke for just over half an hour after Sardar Vallabhbhai, on behalf of the Nation, welcomed him back to the country.*

*The audience heard through the whole half-an-hour without the least disturbance When Mahatmaji finished his speech, the bands sounded a cheery note and the audience, after a pause, cheered the leader vociferously.*

*The Sirdar in welcoming Gandhiji back said, "Mahatmaji, you have returned empty-handed But we are not sorry for it You went against your own wishes in deference to our wishes You have now demonstrated to the world more strongly than ever the determination of India to be free "*

*Mahatma Gandhi declared that till he sailed from London he had hoped that it would be possible to find a way to co-operate with the Government. But what he saw in the country had considerably weakened his hopes*

*"I will do all that lies within the power of human being to prevent another fiery ordeal but if I find that there is no other way out, I will not hesitate to call upon the country to go through it whatever it may cost If there is to be another fight be prepared for every sacrifice, but take a pledge that you will not violate the creed of non-violence", was the Mahatmaji's passionate appeal*

*He added "Last year, we faced lathis, but this time we must be prepared to face bullets I do not wish that the Pathans of the Frontier alone should court bullets If bullets are to be faced, let Bombay and Gujerat also take their share "*

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*Mahatma Gandhi addressing the audience said .*

*Sardar Saheb, sisters, and Brethren, in the morning you flocked to welcome me, in token of the love you bear towards me and now also you have gathered here , and for this expression of your love I thank you from the bottom of*

my heart Truth to speak all this is an expression of the love and confidence you repose in the Congress, through which you are determined to achieve the cherished desire of your hearts It seems to me so

### WHAT HE LEARNT

Last night, I had thought of telling you things quite different from what I propose to say now It seems to be the will of God that I have to tell you something different from what I hoped I would tell you

It is only too true that man proposes and God disposes.

Many things I have learnt to day, of which I was quite unaware and for which I was unprepared

I was ignorant of the firing at Peshawar, and of the deaths of the brave men I was also not aware that Pandit Jawaharlal and Sjt Sherwani were under arrest and awaiting trial

### X'MAS GIFTS I

All this, I learned after my landing here I take it that these are all Christmas Gifts from Lord Willingdon, our Christian Viceroy For, is it not a custom during Christmas to exchange greetings and gifts ? Something had to be given me and this is what I have got

In the Frontier Province Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, his brother and several others have been arrested, and we do not know how many more will be jailed We may not even get the news from that Province What better presents can there be for a Satyagrahi than these ?



By my visit to Europe, my faith in non-violence has immensely increased. I believe that non-violence has the power to melt the stoniest heart. Some people thought that during my visit to Europe I would learn something new, but I honestly say that I learnt nothing new except that my faith in non-violence is increased.

Another experience that I got during my visit to London was that the British Cabinet believes—and there is no reason to doubt its sincerity—that we are not fit for self-Government. They believe that although the Congressmen speak of non-violence, they do not honestly believe in it. The reason is that in the reports they get from their officials in India it is represented that Indians are unfit for self-Government, and that Congress has no control over the masses. That is why they have been declaring Congress organisations unlawful. Our duty is not to find fault with the Englishman nor to be angry with him, but to get rid of our short-comings and to act up to the creed of non-violence. May be that many of you have accepted it as a policy, but so long as the Congress has adopted that creed, we must stick fast to it. By our actions we must prove beyond doubt that we, Congressmen exist not to harm anyone but to protect others at the cost of our own lives. Congress stands to achieve freedom by sacrificing lives. Those who do not subscribe to that view, had better leave the Congress. If we did that, we shall enhance the influence and reputation that we have earned, and if we lose it, we will not be able to attain freedom.

If we have not so far been able to attain Swaraj, it does not mean that we should give up the attempt. India has

not only to attain her freedom but also to give the message of peace and non-violence to the world. Even if years are required to achieve that object, it should not dishearten us.

## SATYAGRAHA, THE WEAPON

I hear people saying that if Congress gave up Satyagraha it will be able to deal with the Government. I must make it clear that Congress and Satyagraha are inseparable. In Satyagraha lies the power of the Congress and the Government will have ultimately to come to terms with the Congress. I made this clear in London and I repeat it to-day before you and the whole world. The Congress does not belong to the Hindus alone. It stands equally for Muslims, Sikhs, Parsis, Christians, Jews and in fact all those who have made India their home. Congress stands for those Englishmen also who have made India their home. I made the claim in London on behalf of the Congress that it stands for the whole of India and I repeat it here. Its influence is bound to increase.

## COMMUNAL SOLUTION

We could not solve the communal problem in London. I knew that it could never be solved there. It can be solved by the Congress and it is doing all that it can to solve it. The remedy is to serve all classes and communities. If the Congress serves the Sikhs and Muslims, they are sure to claim the Congress as their own.

## STATUS OF UNTOUCHABLES.

One word about the untouchables. I claim myself to be one of them. I have served them for my whole life. I

started their service even before I took up Congress work. How can I then do anything that will harm them? The untouchables have been so much oppressed by the caste Hindus that we can find no parallel to it in any other religion. Therefore if they get angry and do harm to 10 or 20 Hindus, it should not give us cause to retaliate. I am not prepared for any concession like reservation of seats etcetera, to the untouchables, because I believe that it would be perpetrating untouchability. Let the future legislatures of free India be filled with untouchables alone but let them come in as equals. Unless we raise them to our level, our freedom will be futile. So long as a person, whether man or woman, touchable or untouchable, rich or poor, is oppressed and does not enjoy equal rights with other citizens of the country we cannot enjoy freedom. It will be slavery in the garb of freedom. What I did in London was only to safeguard their rights.

I had a mind to speak on many things. I had to place before you an account of what I did in London in connection with the R T C. If I am left free I may do it some other occasion or you may know it through other means.

What I have to tell you now is that if there is to be a fight, be prepared for every sacrifice, but take a pledge that you will not do harm to others. I will do all that lies within the power of a human being to prevent another fiery ordeal, but if I find that there is no other way out I will not hesitate to call upon you to go through it, whatever the magnitude of sufferings may be. May God give us the strength to suffer and sacrifice in the cause of freedom." (Loud cheers)

## "I AM DYING FOR CO-OPERATION."

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But Ordinances Block The Way.

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### Mahatma's Heart To Heart Talk with Englishmen.

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*Mahatma Gandhi was the guest of honour at a meeting of the Welfare Of India League held on Monday night (December 28) at the Hotel Majestic, Bombay*

*It was originally Gandhiji's intention to address the meeting on his experiences in England and Europe, but he was so much weighed down with the political developments in India that he devoted his speech almost entirely to the situation on the Frontier and in U P and Bengal*

*Gandhiji complained that the officials in India were making co-operation with Government impossible by adopting drastic and severe measures under Ordinances*

*Replying to a question Gandhiji, emphatically declared that he was dying to co-operate with Government but so long as the Ordinances remained in force he could not, nor the Congress, co-operate with Government or the R T C Committees without injuring his and the Nation's self-respect "I can really make things easy, but the Government will not accept my services"*

*The following is the full text of Mahatmaji's speech —*

When I received the cable from Mr David just before I left England inviting me to attend this meeting I felt it was impossible for me to avoid this invitation And so I cabled him in reply asking to arrange the time with Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, because naturally he has at his disposal all the time at my disposal It is a great pleasure to me to be able to address you this evening

My intention when I accepted this invitation was to speak to you this evening on what I saw in England But on landing in India all my plans have been upset by the startling news that I have heard about the situation here I wished to speak to you and to the Congress about the many things I have seen in England and in Europe They have got their dark side as also the bright side of the picture There were things I saw from which I had every reason for hope But there were also things which held out no hopes at all I would gladly have spoken to you what I saw in England and in Europe But now with the situation before me as it is, I shall have to speak to you largely about the events that face me and face you as those who want to promote the welfare of this country

## AFFECTION EVERYWHERE

But I want to assure you that wherever I went in London, in England or in Europe I was surrounded with the greatest amount of affection and I felt that there was no truth in Kipling's saying that the East and West would never meet I am not conscious of a single experience throughout my three

months' stay in England and Europe that has made me feel that after all East is East and West is West. On the contrary I have been convinced more than ever that human nature is much the same, no matter under what clime it flourishes, that if you approached people with trust and affection you would have ten-fold trust and thousand fold affection returned to you.

### VISIT TO ENGLAND NOT USELESS

Though I cannot say I have achieved anything from the R T C in terms of the Congress demand, I do not consider my visit to England has been useless. On the contrary I feel that it was a good thing that I was able to go through this experience, which has further enabled me to put to test efficiency of the methods that I have been employing for the last 30 years in connection with public questions. But I must close this part of my speech about my experiences, because instead of finding an echo of this experience in India I find myself face to face with grim facts.

Whilst I could not say that the Round Table Conference or the Prime Minister's declaration has offered anything that would positively satisfy the Congress, I could say that there was an honest effort on the part of the British Ministers to understand the Indian situation although they could not appreciate the Indian view-point as I conceive it. Instead of finding an atmosphere responsive to the expectations raised by the Prime Minister's declarations, supported by the speech of the Secretary of State for India, I find that there is absolutely no atmosphere to answer even the granting of limited responsibility to India, as had been defined in the speech of the Secretary of State for India.

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## THE SECRETARY OF STATE

Speaking about the Secretary of State for India Gandhiji observed I am here to testify that of all the Ministers I had the privilege of meeting I found the Secretary of State for India to be an honest and frank-hearted Englishman I had no difficulty in understanding what was at the back of his mind and every interview with him brought me nearer to him and we parted as the best of friends, as I did with all the other Ministers

But when I come here I find a different order of things altogether. Here is the Frontier trouble Side by side with the declaration that the Frontier Province is about to be placed on the same footing as the other Provinces, you find in that Province to-day an Ordinance for which I cannot find any parallel what-so-ever If you have not studied it thoroughly I commend it to you I have not myself studied it carefully I have gone through the brief Press reports that are available But I cannot tell myself that this is a human piece of legislation, if at all it can be called a legislation

## A GREAT AND BRAVE PATHAN

This ordinance gives no protection for the life or property The ostensible aim of this ordinance is to put down the activities of the brave people of the Frontier with a heavy hand I know Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan and his band of Khudai Khidmatgars But I do not know of anything that has been done by these "red shirts"—the Khudai Khidmatgar which means the servants of God I know of the greatness of Abdul Gaffar Khan He is a brave Pathan He is a

simple hearted, sincere and honest man and he walks under the fear of God. Even some of the officials in the North West Frontier have testified to his honesty. But now he has been deported with a band of his men.

### HIS CRIME

And what is his crime? His crime is that he wanted independence for his Province and for India, his crime is that he did not attend the Durbar that was held recently to consider the ways and means to give new form of Government to that Province. Beyond that he had done nothing, neither have any of those thousands of followers of his done anything. Was it their crime that they were wearing the Red shirts? And on top of this we have received reports that they have been shot down for defying the Ordinance. Civil Disobedience should be punished because that is the essence of Civil Disobedience. A civil resister courts suffering and punishment. But I have not seen or heard anywhere that the penalty for defying law, apart from violence done by the Civil resisters is to meet them with bullets. We have already reports that 14 people have been killed when the troops opened fire on a crowd of red shirts and spectators. We have no report of the casualties when the troops fired on a body of 2000 red shirts. The casualties must be severer. More is perhaps to follow.

### AN UNHAPPY AUGURY

This is certainly an exceedingly unhappy augury for changing the Frontier Province into an Autonomous Province. It is a bad augury that one of its bravest men should have



been deported at this time and several men killed because they have shown themselves to be brave in defying an Ordinance which is only legalised martial law

## UNITED PROVINCES

Now I come to the United Provinces And what do I find there? Here Jawaharlal Nehru and Mr Sherwani have been arrested And what did they do? Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru wanted to attend a Conference that was to be held But instead of attending it what he did was to postpone it to a later date because of some conditions that had been imposed by the Government which he thought were not consistent with self-respect He postponed it pending the decisions of the Congress Working Committee which is meeting here to-morrow He wanted to ascertain what steps should be taken after consultation with me and the Working Committee members in the light of my experience at the Round Table Conference But the Government served an order on him that he should not leave the limits of the Allahabad Municipality without taking permission from the Government authorities He wrote a letter to the Magistrate intimating his intention to proceed to Bombay to receive me But he and Mr Sherwani have been arrested

## WILLINGDON'S 13

But the arrests do not worry me at all But it is the ordinance that is now in existence in the U P which troubles me very much It is almost of the same type as the Frontier Ordinance There are enough Ordinances to the credit of Lord Irwin. But there are already thirteen Ordinances to

Lord Willingdon's credit    These thirteen ordinances outdo  
all Lord Irwin's Ordinances by their severity

## BENGAL

Now I pass on to Bengal    I might be told in Bengal  
you can not possibly complain about the Ordinance because  
crime has been committed there    Some Bengal youths have  
run amok and committed assassination    I have always been  
shocked to hear of murderous violence    But I am more pained  
now that I hear that even girls have taken to these deeds of  
terrorism    But because a few persons ran amok how can the  
whole Province be emasculated?    The effect of it will be to  
wean away even the sympathisers of the Government as such  
an Ordinance as prevails there interferes with every day life  
of the people of that province    I have discussed this  
Ordinance with many public men in England and there was  
nothing but condemnation for the same

This in brief is the picture of the situation I find myself  
face to face with    This does not appear to leave any choice  
for me

But at the same time I have pledged myself to so many  
British friends that I would try my level best, in spite of the  
disappointment at the Round Table Conference so far as the  
Congress demand is concerned, to continue co-operation with  
the Government    But from what I have seen since I landed  
I must confess to you that I see very little hope for tendering  
any co-operation, unless I lose all my sense of self-respect

I would be doing the greatest injustice to myself and to

the Nation if I advised co-operation now unless I could see some light dawn on the horizon which just now seems to me impenetrable darkness

I do not know how you, the members of the Welfare of India League view these Ordinances But I assure you that I shall strain every nerve to see if I would not tender co-operation on honourable lines to induce Government to withdraw or revise these ordinances

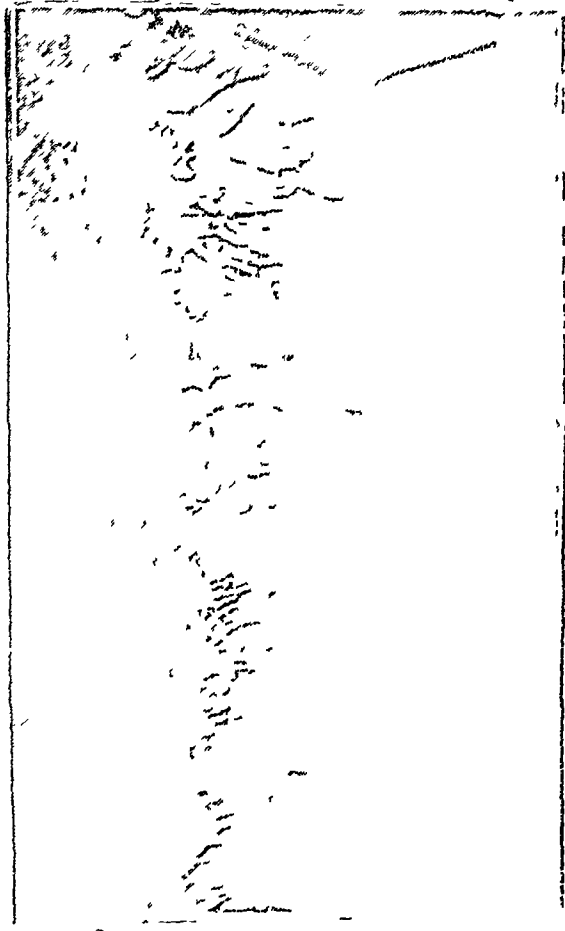
## PARALLEL GOVERNMENT

The Congress is charged with trying to run a parallel Government by the Governor of the United Provinces I do not see what is wrong in running Parallel Governments, so long as they are run on non-violent lines and for the interest of the people What is wrong in private organisations of individuals running hospitals ? What even if they run side by side with Government Law Courts, Arbitration Courts where justice could be had at less cost to the people ?

The Government should welcome such enterprises and give every encouragement to it If the Congress is running a peasant organisation as it is running to-day, for the relief and the welfare of the peasants what is wrong in that ? I would welcome it if I were the Governor

The Congress does intend to displace this Government at some time. If the Congress is not able to take charge of the Government then there is no hope of Swaraj coming The question was put to the Congress . " Are you ready to take over the Defence of the Country ? Are you ready

# WOMEN SOLDIERS GREET THEIR GENERAL!



Desh Sevikas and Hindu-tam Sava Dal ( women section )  
offered an aich to Mahatmayi to pass through  
on his landing

## DAUGHTER REPRESENTS FATHER.



Kumari Indumati ( on the left ) was among the first to greet Bapu who missed her father Pundit Jivaharlal ( being jailed )

to take over the Finance of the country and also take over the obligations of the country ”

I replied “ it is ready ” The Congress is undoubtedly ready to take over charge of the defence, of the Finances and also of the obligations you might consider India is liable for. But only in a truly business like way they should get all the obligations examined by an impartial examiner Unless the Congress tries its hands in these matters how can it learn and thrive?

So what is there disloyal or seditious in organisations trying to run parallel Governments, based on the good-will of the people whom the organisation claimed to serve

It was the very foundation of the Congress to be able one day to replace the present Government It had been laid down by such eminent persons like Dadabhai Naoroji and many other Englishmen and Indians So after its life of more than half a century if it is not able to run a parallel Government I would say we should all be ashamed of it

## CONGRESS DOES NOTHING IMMORAL

The Congress has done nothing immoral, nothing ungentlemanly It is not a secret organisation It always spreads out its cards on the table And if still the Government should mistrust it as they seem to, then all I can say is that we will have to make our power felt or allow ourselves to perish in doing so

I would request you, members of the Welfare of India

League to direct me in this matter I have placed before you so to say my puzzle If the Congress is not trusted how can it give co-operation ? The welfare of India is a common interest between you and me and the Congress The Congress does not live for anything else than the welfare of India and I have myself no other aim in living this life It may be that I and the Congress are going the wrong way about it I am open to correction and conviction So I would request you all to study the situation in the light of my speech and I shall be glad to answer any questions that you may put to me based on my speech for better understanding and for my own guidance

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Nearly a dozen questions were put to Gandhiji after this by the members of the League all of which Gandhiji answered exhaustively

A member asked . Will you co-operate with the working of the various R T C. Committees, which would commence work in India soon if all the ordinances are withdrawn ?

A I have already explained that the Ordinances block the way Firstly the Ordinances must go Secondly the Congress must be satisfied that its goal can be reached through co-operation with the Committees I can hold out no hopes of the Congress reducing its demands But if the Congress is satisfied that the door is open for argument and negotiation in regard to its demands, I would advise the Congress to tender its co-operation in the work of the Committees.

Q Before condemning these ordinances as you have done why don't you please proceed to the provinces where these ordinances are in force and study the conditions there personally and see if they are not justified ?

A I would be most glad to do so, if the Government permitted me I have tried several times to go to the Frontier Province But on all these occasions the Government have stood in the way, at least the Government have not shown any encouragement for this move of co-operation I am divulging no official secret to you when I say that when the Delhi Pact was signed Gaffar Khan was on the brain of the Executive I requested Lord Irwin to allow me to go to the Frontier But Lord Irwin after consultation with the Commissioner of the Frontier came to the conclusion that it is a dangerous thing to send me there (Laughter) I was told that I would create ferment there and whatever I might say would be misinterpreted to the tribesmen (Laughter) I tried another time in Simla with Lord Willingdon with no better success. I could have proceeded without taking permission, but I did not want to embarrass the Government If the Government could permit me to proceed to the Frontier, to-morrow, I shall rush to that place So if those of you here, who have got the ear of the Government, (Laughter) can procure for me this permission, I shall directly start for the Frontier I would love to go there to-morrow itself

Q Will you not agree to go to the Frontier and Bengal on Government's terms ?

Answer . No, I cannot. If Government will allow me to



serve them it must be on my own terms I cannot go to the brave Abdul Ghaffar Khan and tell him that it is wrong to long for Independence for the Frontier or for India If you want a bird to fly, you must not cut its wings and then say you can fly now. That is what the Government want to do They clip my wings and then want me to fly The Government must let me grow in strength, if they will let me serve them

### I CAN MAKE THINGS EASY

I can really make things easy The Government knows that Abdul Ghaffar Khan would pay heed to my words I have lived with the Pathans and moved with them I have also been assaulted by them and that has ever been a link between them and me (Laughter) So long as he (Gaffar Khan) is satisfied that I have not betrayed the cause he would certainly abide by my advice It was on my advice that he went and saw the Commissioner some time ago But the Government will not accept my services

I also intend to visit Bengal The situation is different in regard to Bengal I need not ask for permission to go to Bengal But once I go to Bengal I will write to the Government and place my co-operation at their service, as will, at the service of the people of Bengal It will be for the Government to accept my service or not But I will not go to Chittagong or Hyli, without asking the Bengal Government if I may do so without embarrassment to them I can go to the Frontiers I can go to Chittagong and to Hyli, whether the Government will it or not I can practise Civil Disobedience if the

authorities issue prohibitory orders But I will not go to the Frontier, Chittagong or Hujli, at the cost of practising Civil Disobedience If I do so I will be embarrassing the Government greatly which is what I do not want to do If I decide to offer Civil Disobedience, I shall choose, as a Satyagrahi, a ground that offers to the Government the minimum embarrassment and put the Government in the wrong

Question If you are satisfied that there is a seditious organisation existing in Bengal would you ask for the repeal of the ordinances?

### WHAT IS SEDITION

Answer The word 'sedition' is a very elastic term But I understand the spirit of the question If these organisations are trying to subvert law and order and trying to usurp the powers of the Government it is certainly the duty of the Government to deal with such activities But all the difference lies in the method of dealing with the same The same question was put to me in England

'How would you deal with terrorism if the Congress were running the Government?'

I then replied give me the power and shall show that (laughter) I would deal with an organisation of that character in the most sympathetic manner There is the ordinary law which could alone deal with any kind of crime Then why have recourse to Ordinances, which only help to estrange the feelings of the people on whom it operates? I yield to none in my condemnation of crimes but these Ordi-

nances instead of weaning away people from terrorism only accentuate it

No society would tolerate the taking of innocent lives as was done by the Bengal youths But why punish 50,000 for the crime of five? If I were the Secretary of State or the Governor General I would ask the Bengal Governor to resign his place when he asked for the promulgation of an Ordinance But I would not rest there I would dive into the root cause of this discontent and try to cure that first

The Governor should invite the prominent leaders into his secret chamber and take them into his confidence and discuss the question threadbare and find out the means to check and stop such crimes

## MUTUAL TRUST

Mutual trust is what he wants The Archbishop of Canterbury told me that he had understood what was at the back of the Indian Problem and he had understood it well when he said that it is mutual trust we want

Bengal has its grievances The Bengal youths are outrageous, emotional and patriotic and so speeches, like those delivered in the House of Commons decrying the bravery of Bengal drive them to extremes As I said before I yield to none, not even Englishmen in my condemnation of crime But it should be dealt within the ordinary course of Law

The Congress creed of non-violence has done a great deal to check terrorism But the methods of General Dyer

would not do. I have no enmity or irritation against General Dyer. I know he was an honest man, who believed in what he was doing and who justified his actions in India

### DYER METHODS WON'T DO.

But the Dyer method is wrong English lives in India must not be saved by Dyer methods

The atmosphere created by the Ordinances is certainly not conducive to hammer out a constitution for the country, as is proposed to do

If you think young India will look at any constitution evolved in the atmosphere of the Ordinances, it is a forlorn hope

It is no use saying that Indian loyalists say 'yes' to Government in support of these methods I tell you even these loyalists when they say 'yes' to the Government, they say at the back of their minds 'no' As one who is of the people, who lives amongst them, who lives for them, I claim to know the reaction of the Indian Mind to these Ordinances better than the Governor-General who issues these ordinances living in Simla or Delhi, and better than all his advisers put together

Question. Would you not try to stamp out the terrorist movement to the exclusion of all your other activities?

A The Congress campaign of non-violence, I firmly believe, has done a great deal to check terrorism

I am speaking with evidence I know of any number of cases in which the Congress message has won to the cause

of non-violence ex-revolutionaries To-day, I can vouch for their non-violence as I can vouch for my own These patriotic youngmen are engaged in constructive work

Q If you were in power would you allow another organisation to run a parallel Government and usurp your place?

### I DID NOT MEAN USURPATION

A When I said that I did not see any harm in organisations running parallel Governments I did not mean usurpation My friend has put a word into my mouth which I never used If these organisations run a parallel Government for the good of the people I would certainly give them all encouragement See what Dictator Mussolini is doing in Italy He never interferes with the voluntary activities of parallel institutions running with the Government for the betterment of the country

Replying to Mr Gilbert Lodge, Mahatmaji said he regretted very much the outrages committed in Bengal but he said, he would stamp out the secret bodies by finding out the cause which led to their creation rather than by ordinances Ordinances estranged feelings of even loyalists and co-operators Law must deal gently with evil. If he was the Secretary of State for India he would ask the Governor of Bengal to resign his post, if he asked his consent for ordinances He would tell the Governor to inquire why there was no discontent in Travancore and it existed in Bengal and find out the reason and remove it If he was the Governor, he would take loyalists and opponents in a secret chamber and talk as man to man and find out the cause of discontent and remove it It

reminded him of the talk he had with the Archbishop of Canterbury who said that what India wanted was the trust of England and 'vice versa' He would deal with the terrorists in a human manner and not in the manner of General Dyer

Sir Nusserwanji Choksy asked if desperate disease required desperate remedy or not Mahatmajī replied in the affirmative and remarked that the remedy should not be more desperate than the disease He asked the doctor if a doctor would operate on lungs for ear disease ? (Laughter)

## I AM DYING FOR CO-OPERATION

Mahatma Gandhi Finally said

I am dying for co-operation and shall not rest till I have explored all avenues I appeal to you Englishmen and women to ponder over the facts I have placed before you to-night and do your bit for creating an atmosphere of love and peace in this country

The proceedings came to a close after a vote of thanks to Gandhiji and Sir Stanley Reid who presided, was unanimously carried

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## FIGHT AGAINST SEPARATE ELECTORATES.

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### Mahatma's Advice To "Harijans".

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*A passionate appeal to the so called depressed classes to launch a fight against Separate Electorates and to support Adult Franchise was made by Mahatma Gandhi replying to an Address presented to him on behalf of over 50 Depressed Class Associations from all over the presidency*

*The function took place on the terrace of the Mani Bhuvan on Tuesday evening (December 29), after prayer time*

*The address was presented to Gandhiji by Mr B J Deorukhkar, Secretary of the Nationalist Depressed Class Party and Mr Shankerrao M Patil, Secretary of the Presidency Chambhar Association*

*The Address was printed on, what could be called "Ahimsa leather," being a fine goat skin secured out of a dead animal, as Gandhiji would not accept a present made out of leather tanned from animals killed for the purpose*

*The Address read as follows —*

"We the undersigned representative and leaders of the so-called untouchable classes tender you our respectful welcome on this occasion

You have ceaselessly toiled for the uplift of the 'Untouchables', you have made the removal of untouchability a fundamental national issue, you have, single-handed, fought for our equality. We believe you to be our only representative and our saviour.

Our desire is to enjoy our rights and to bear the burden of responsibilities shoulder to shoulder with other Hindus in the scheme of Swaraj outlined by you at the Round Table Conference. We are ready to carry out your programme and are anxious to join the national struggle at your call.

May the Almighty crown your efforts with success "

The signatories to the address represented (1) Anti-Untouchability Central Board, Bombay, (2) Nationalist Depressed Classes Party, (3) Meghawal Sudharak Sabha, (4) Bombay Presidency Chambhar Central Board, (5) Meghawal Hitwardhak Mandal, (6) Ahmedabad Municipality, (7) School Board Committee, Ahmedabad, (8) Dhulia Chambhar Mandal, (9) Harle (Chambhar) Samaj, (10) Thana D C Association, (11) Chewli Hitwardhak Samaj, (12) Leather Workers' Association and 40 other Associations.

Replying to the address, Gandhiji said

I hate to call you "untouchables," and I have adopted the name of "harijans" for you as we are all the same in the eyes of God.

There is a history behind this. At Kathiawar, a prominent member of your community brought to my notice that



the name "untouchables" would itself perpetuate the difference existing between your community and the caste Hindus. The truth of the statement struck me also. Ever since I am calling you by the name of "Harijan" and also refer to you by the same name in the "Naujivan"

In Baroda, there is a section of your community known as "Kali Paraj", but they also have adopted now the name "Ram Paraj" and now they feel injured if you call them by the name of "Kali Paraj."

I am very thankful to you for the address you have presented me this evening. It has a special significance at the present moment on account of the existing circumstances.

### WHY NO RESERVATION

You know what I did on your behalf at the Round Table Conference. On the question of special representation and reservations for the Depressed classes, I opposed Dr Ambedkar at the Conference.

I did so only on account of my deep sense of injury at the manner in which the other class of Hindus have been calling you and keeping you. I am more than ever certain that reservations and special representations for you would only perpetuate this gulf between you and the caste Hindus.

### CRITICISM WELCOMED.

I am conscious that many members of your community have taken serious objection to my views, and have condemned me for that. I welcome every criticism, whether adverse or

otherwise, and I shall continue my efforts for your uplift and welfare in spite of adverse criticism, with the same feelings of love that I have always had for you

## ADULT SUFFRAGE

But it is my deep conviction, that once you are separated from the rest of the Hindus by artificial barriers of representation on the legislatures, that would for ever perpetuate this social distinction

I am conscious of the great harm the Hindu society has done by keeping you out. But I believe that, the moment adult suffrage is brought into force, and you are in the same common role with others, all these distinctions would vanish and you would be on the same social level as the other Hindus, even as you pray to the same Ram or Krishna for guidance

Adult suffrage and joint electorates would facilitate social life between you and the caste Hindus, and the day will not be far away when all these distinctions would cease to exist

The policy I advocated at the Round Table Conference is the Congress Policy, and I represented the Congress view as its representative. But even if to-morrow the Congress goes back upon this policy, I shall stick to it and shall carry on my endeavours for your uplift

The presentation of this address has more than a political significance at the present moment when we are all so divided on communal lines, and its results would be far reaching. Its

importance lies in the fact that it is representative of so many sections of your community

## THE AGA KHAN PACT.

On the question of minorities, a definite pact was formed at the Round Table Conference between five minority communities of India, to demand special representation for these minorities

These five were the Moslems, Anglo-Indians, Christians Europeans, Indian Christians and the Depressed Classes

I opposed their demand I asked them to run a minorities Government, if it was possible for them But I also told them that I would oppose it as I now do the foreign Government

My appeal to you is, therefore, to fight against separate electorates and safeguards, and to advocate adult suffrage, as the only way to your uplift and salvation

## REPRESENTATIVE ADDRESS

When referring to the representative nature of the address, Mahatmajī asked if all of them had put their signature voluntarily, and the audience to a man, lifted their hands up in response.

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## EXPLOITATION NOT OUR GOAL !

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### India's Hand of Friendship.

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*Mahatma Gandhi delivered his expected address when the discussions of the Federal Structure Committee of the Round-Table Conference were resumed at St James Palace. For the first time in the Conference the case for the Congress party—the biggest, best organised, and mightiest of the Indian political parties—was directly put*

*Mahatma Gandhi who sat on the left of the Lord Chancellor, was the first speaker. It is usual for members to speak seated. The Mahatma expressed his point of view in slow sentences. It was not a prepared speech, but from time to time he referred to notes.*

*"I have come to London," said Mahatma Gandhi, "to attend the Committee and the Round Table Conference when the proper time comes absolutely in the spirit of co-operation, and to strive my utmost to find points of agreement."*

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Mahatma Gandhi said

I must confess at the outset that I am not a little embarrassed in having to state before you the position of the Indian National Congress. I would like to say that I have come to London to attend this sub-committee, as also the

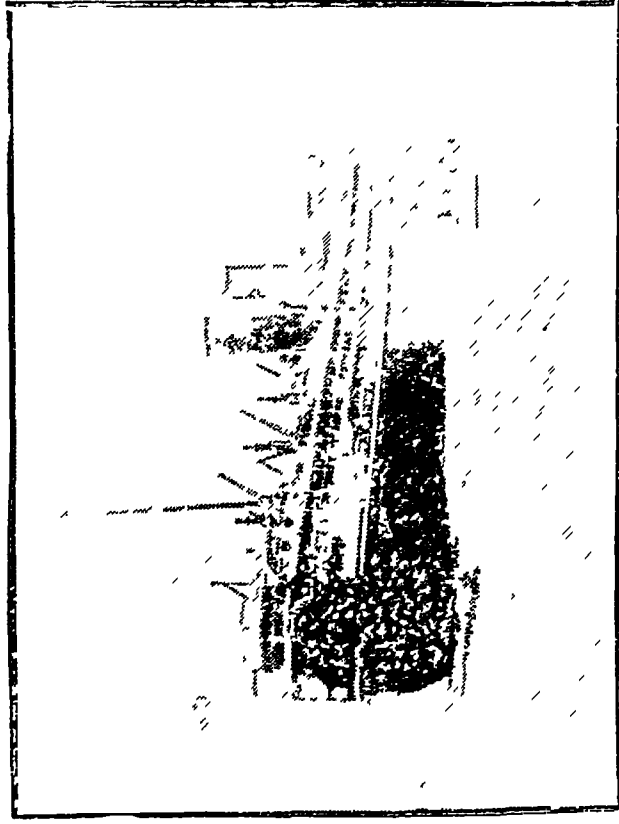
Round Table Conference, when the proper time comes, absolutely in the spirit of co-operation and to strive to my utmost to find points of agreement I would like also to give this assurance to His Majesty's Government, that at no stage is it, or will it be, my desire to embarrass authority, and I would like to give the same assurance to my colleagues here, that however much we may differ about our view points, I shall not obstruct them in any shape or form Therefore, my position here depends entirely upon your goodwill, as also the goodwill of His Majesty's Government If at any time, I found that I could not be of any useful service to the Conference, I would not hesitate to withdraw myself from it I can also say to those who are responsible for the management of this Committee and the Conference that they have only to give a sign and I should have no hesitation in withdrawing

## HISTORY OF THE CONGRESS

I am obliged to make these remarks because I know that there are fundamental differences of opinion between the Government and the Congress, and it is possible that there are vital differences between my colleagues and myself There is also a limitation under which I shall be working I am but a poor humble agent acting on behalf of the Indian National Congress, and it might be as well to remind ourselves of what the Congress stands for and what it is You will then extend your sympathy to me, because I know that the burden that rests upon my shoulders is really very great

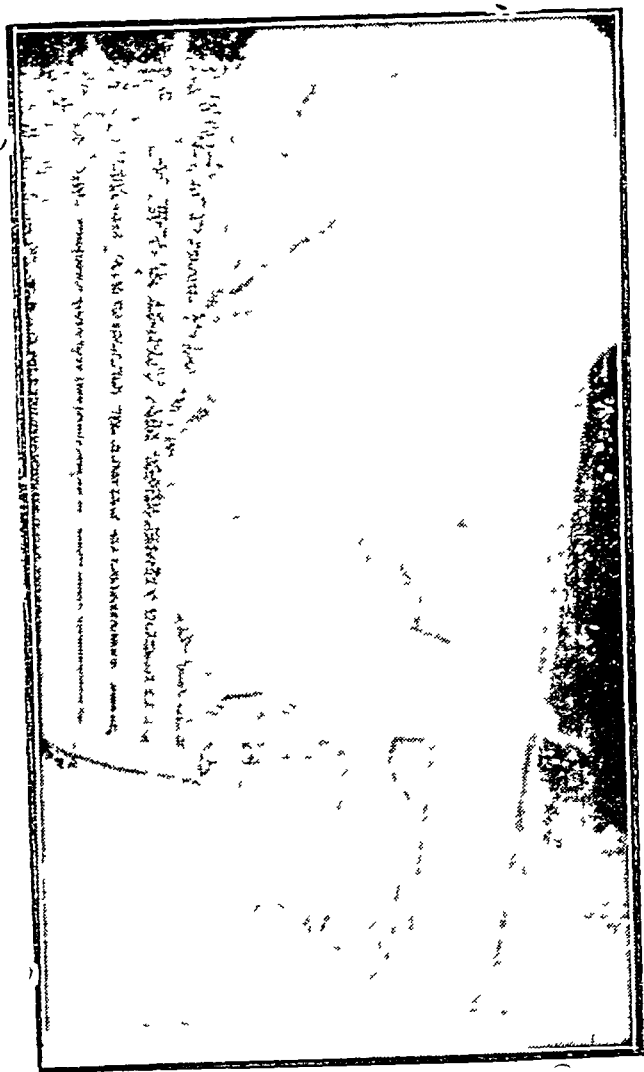
The Congress is, if I am not mistaken, the oldest political organisation we have in India It has had nearly 50 years

## THE LUCKY SHIP



S. S. Rajputana which carried Mahatmaji to London

# DREAMING



Peace or War?

of life, during which period it has, without any interruption, held its annual session. It is what it means—national. It represents no particular community, no particular class, no particular interest. It claims to represent all Indian interests and all classes. It is a matter of the greatest pleasure to me to state that it was first conceived in an English brain. Allan Octavius Hume we knew as the father of the Congress. It was nursed by two great Parsees, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta and Dadabhoy Naoroji, whom all India delighted to recognise as its Grand Old Man. From the very commencement the Congress had Musalmans, Christians, Anglo-Indians, I might say all religions, sects, and communities represented upon it more or less fully. The late Badruddin Tyebji identified himself with the Congress. We have had Musalmans and Parsees as presidents of the Congress. I can recall at least one Indian Christian president at the present moment, W. C. Bonnerji. Kalicharan Bannerji, than whom I have not had the privilege of knowing a purer Indian, was also thoroughly identified with the Congress. I miss, as I have no doubt all of you miss, the presence in our midst of Mr. K. T. Paul. Although he never officially belonged to the Congress, he was a nationalist to the full and a sympathiser of the Congress.

As you know, the late Maulana Muhammed Ali, whose presence also we miss to-day, was a president of the Congress, and, at present, we have four Musalmans as members of the Working Committee, which consists of 15 members. We have had women as our presidents, Dr. Annie Besant was the first, and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu followed. We have her as a member of the Working Committee also, and so, if we have no dis-



inctions of class or creed, we have no distinctions of sex either.

## CONGRESS AND " UNTOUCHABLES "

The Congress has, from its very commencement, taken up the cause of the so-called "untouchables" There was a time when, the Congress had at every annual session as its adjunct the Social Conference, to which the late Mr Ranade had dedicated his energies, among his many activities Headed by him, you will find in the programme of the Social Conference, reform in connection with the untouchables taking a prominent place But in 1920, the Congress took a large step and brought the question of removal of untouchability as a plank on the political platform, made it an important item of the political programme Just as the Congress considered Hindu-Muslim unity, thereby meaning unity amongst the people following all the great religions, to be indispensable for the attainment of Swaraj, so also did the Congress consider the removal of untouchability as an indispensable condition for the attainment of full freedom

The position the Congress took up in 1920 remains intact today and so, you will see that the Congress has attempted from its very beginning to be what it has described itself to be, namely, ' national ' in every sense of the term.

If Your Highnesses will permit me to say it, in the very early stage , the Congress took up your cause also Let me remind this Committee that it was the Grand Old Man of India who sponsored the cause of Kashmir and Mysore, and these two great Houses, I venture, in all humility, to submit, owe not a little to the efforts of Dadabhoy Naoroji and the

Congress Even now the Congress has endeavoured to serve the Princes of India by refraining from any interference in their domestic and internal affairs.

## A PEASANT ORGANISATION

I hope that this brief introduction that I thought fit to give will serve to enable the sub-committee and those who are interested in the claims of the Congress, to understand that it has endeavoured to deserve the claim that it has made. It has failed, I know, often to live up to the claim, but, I venture to submit, that if you were to examine the history of the Congress, you would find that it has more often succeeded, and progressively succeeded, than failed. Above all, the Congress represents, in its essence, the dumb, semi-starved millions scattered over the length and breadth of the land in its seven hundred thousand villages, no matter whether they come from what is called British India, or what is called Indian India. Every interest which, in the opinion of the Congress, is worthy of protection, has to subserve the interests of these dumb millions. You do find now and again an apparent clash between several interests. If there is a genuine and real clash, I have no hesitation in saying on behalf of the Congress that the Congress will sacrifice every interest for the sake of the interests of these dumb millions. It is, therefore, essentially a peasant organisation, or, it is becoming so progressively. You, and even the Indian members of the sub-committee, will, perhaps, be astonished to find that today the Congress, through its organisation, The All-India Spinners' Association, is finding work for nearly 50,000\*

\* The latest figures of the Spinners' Association show 1,80,000 spinners

tween the Government of India and the Congress. In that settlement, the Congress has accepted the principle of federation, the principle that there should be responsibility at the centre, and has accepted also the principle that there should be safeguards in so far as they may be necessary in the interests of India

### ASPIRE TO BE A PARTNER

There was one phrase used yesterday, I forget by which delegate, but it struck me very forcibly. He said, "we do not want a merely political constitution" I do not know that he gave that expression the same meaning that it immediately bore to me but I immediately said to myself, this phrase has given me a good expression. It is true the Congress will not be, and personally speaking, I myself would never be, satisfied with a mere political constitution which to read would seem to give India all she can possibly politically desire, but in reality would give her nothing. If we are intent upon complete independence it is not from any sense of arrogance, it is not because we want to parade before the universe that we have now severed all connection with the British people. Nothing of the kind. On the contrary, you find in this mandate itself that the Congress contemplates a partnership, the Congress contemplates a connection with the British people, but that connection should be such as can exist between two absolute equals. Time was when I prided myself on being, and being called, a British subject. I have ceased for many years to call myself a British subject. I would far rather be called a rebel than a subject, but I have now aspired, I still aspire, to be a citizen not in the Empire, but in a Commonwealth, in a partnership

if possible, if God wills it, an indissoluble partnership, but not a partnership superimposed upon one nation by another. Hence, you find here that the Congress claims that either party should have the right to sever this connection, to dissolve the partnership. May I say—it may be irrelevant to the consideration, but not irrelevant to me,—that as I have said elsewhere I can quite understand responsible British statesmen today being wholly engrossed in domestic affairs, in trying to make both ends meet. We could not expect them to do anything less, and I felt, even as I was sailing towards London, whether we, in the sub-committee at the present moment, would not be a drag upon the British ministers, whether we would not be interlopers. And yet, I said to myself, it is possible that the British ministers themselves might consider the proceedings of the Round Table Conference to be of primary importance even in terms of their domestic affairs. Yes, India can be held by the sword. But what will conduce to the prosperity of Great Britain, and the economic freedom of Great Britain—an enslaved but a rebellious India, or an India, an esteemed partner with Britain to share her sorrows, to take part side by side with Britain in her misfortunes?

### HIS DREAM OF HOPE

Yes, if need be, but at her own will, to fight side by side with Britain, not for the exploitation of a single race or a single human being on earth, but it may be conceivably for the good of the whole world. If I want freedom for my country, believe me, if I can possibly help it, I do not want that freedom in order that I, belonging to a nation which

counts one-fifth of the human race, may exploit any other race upon earth, or any single individual. If I want that freedom for my country, I would not be deserving of that freedom if I did not cherish and treasure the equal right of every other race, weak or strong, to the same freedom. And so I said to myself, whilst I was nearing the shores of your beautiful island that, perchance it might be possible for me to convince the British Ministers that India as a valuable partner, not held by force but by the silken cord of love, an India of that character might be conceivably of real assistance to you in balancing your budget, not for one year but for many years. What cannot the two nations do—one a handful but brave, with a record for bravery perhaps unsurpassed, a nation noted for having fought slavery, a nation that has at least claimed times without number to protect the weak—and another a very ancient nation, counted in millions, with a glorious and ancient past, representing at the present moment two great cultures, the Islam and Hindu cultures and if you will, also containing not a small but a very large Christian population, and certainly absorbing the whole of the splendid Zoroastrian stock, in numbers almost beneath contempt, but in philanthropy and enterprise almost unequalled, certainly unsurpassed. We have got all these cultures concentrated in India, and supposing that God fires both Hindus and Musalmans represented here with a proper spirit so that they close ranks and come to an honourable understanding, take that nation and this nation together, I again ask myself and ask you whether with an India free, completely independent as Great Britain is, an honourable partnership between these two nations cannot be mutually beneficial, even in terms of the domestic affair of this great

nation And so, in that dreamy hope I have approached the British Isles, and I shall still cherish that dream

And when I have said this perhaps I have said all, and you will be able to dot the I's, and cross the T's, not expecting me to fill in all the details, and tell you what I mean by control over the army, what I mean by control over external affairs, finances, fiscal and economic policy, or even the financial transactions which a friend yesterday considered to be sacrosanct I do not take that view If there is a stock-taking between incoming and outgoing partners, their transactions are subject to audit and adjustment, and the Congress will not be guilty of any dishonourable conduct or crime in saying that the nation should understand what it is taking over and what it should not take over This audit, this scrutiny, is asked for not merely in the interests of India, it is asked for in the interests of both I am positive that the British people do not want to saddle upon India a single burden which it should not legitimately bear, and I am here to declare on behalf of the Congress that the Congress will never think of repudiating a single claim or a burden that it should justly discharge If we are to live as an honourable nation worthy of commanding credit from the whole world, we will pay every farthing of legitimate debt with our blood

I do not think I should take you any further through the clauses of this mandate and analyse for you the meaning of these clauses as Congressmen give them If it is God's will that I should continue to take part in these deliberations, as the deliberations proceed I shall be able to explain the implications of these clauses As the deliberations proceed I

have my say in connection with the safeguards also. But, I think, I have said quite enough in having, with some elaboration and with your generous indulgence, Lord Chancellor, taken the time of this meeting. I had not intended really to take that time but I felt that I could not possibly do justice to the cause I have come to expound to you, the sub-Committee, and to the British Nation of which we the Indian delegation are at present, the guests, if I did not give you, out of the whole of my heart my cherished wish even at this time I would love to go away from the shores of the British Isles with the conviction that there was to be an honourable and equal partnership between Great Britain and India

I cannot do anything more than say that it will be my fervent prayer during all the days that I live in your midst that this consummation may be reached. I thank you, Lord Chancellor, for the courtesy that you have extended to me in not stopping me, although I have taken close upon fortyfive minutes. I was not entitled to all that indulgence and I thank you once more

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## NO CO-OPERATION IN BANKRUPTCY MEASURES

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### WHY IS LEGISLATURE FLOUTED ?

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*A surprise attack on the Indian Government's Emergency Currency measures was made by Gandhiji at the Federal Structure Committee on September 22, when he made a statement in reply to Sir Samuel Hoare's announcement made the previous day. Gandhiji expressed his definite disapproval of the Government's method and declared that he was unable to extend to them the support which the Secretary of State had asked for*

Gandhiji said

"Whilst every thoughtful Congressman must sympathise with the British Nation in this hour of crisis, I must express my surprise and my sorrow at the manner in which action seems to have been taken in India "

"What pains me," he continued, "is the fact that the decision has been taken over the heads of the Legislatures, which, in my view, is a striking proof of the unbending attitude of the Government of India. Evidently on matters of the most vital importance, Indians are not yet considered fit to be consulted, much less to decide what is good for them

"I repudiate that view as far as Congress is concerned, and therefore I am unable to give my support to the measure for which the Secretary of State for India had asked "

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## “ NO ROOM FOR ME IN A SUBJECTED INDIA.”

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### Mahatmaji Interprets Federation in Terms Of Congress Mandate

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*In his second speech at the Federal Structure Committee, Mahatma Gandhi indulged in some plain-speaking regarding the unrepresentative character of the Indian Delegation which led to hopeless uncertainty and endless delay. Regarding the exclusion of the Nationalist Muslims, he dropped a significant hint “ I feel that there has been a notable gap. So I am oppressed at the sense of unreality of the composition ”*

*“ Lodging a humble complaint ” against His Majesty's Government, he challenged them to place their cards on the table, instead of playing for time and juggling with momentous issues*

*Discussing the details of Federation, item by item, he interpreted them in terms of the Congress mandate and concluded with a solemn declaration “ If it is to be a subjected India, then I have no place there ”*

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The following is the full text of Mahatma Gandhi's speech at the Federal Structure Committee, on the second day of his occupation —

Lord Chancellor,

It is not without very great hesitation that I take part in this debate and before I proceed to deal with the several points that are noted down here for discussion I should like, with your permission, to disburden myself of an oppressive feeling that has been growing on me ever since Monday I have watched with the greatest attention the discussion that has taken place in this Committee. I have endeavoured to study, as I have not done before, the list of the delegates, and the first feeling of oppression that has been coming upon me is that we are not the chosen ones of the nation which we should be representing, but we are the chosen ones of the Government I see, as I study the list, and as I know the different parties and groups in India from experience, some very noticeable gaps also, and so I am oppressed with a sense of unreality in connection with our composition

My second reason for feeling a sense of unreality is that these proceedings seem to me to be interminable and to be leading us practically nowhere If we go on at this rate I do not know that we shall proceed beyond having discussed the various points raised before this sub-Committee threadbare

I would, therefore, first of all, Lord Chancellor, tender my deepest sympathies to you for the very great patience, and may I add the unfailing courtesy, with which you are handling us, and I really congratulate you upon the great pains that you are taking over the proceedings of this sub-Committee I hope however, that at the end of your task and of our task it will be possible for me to tender my congratulations on

having enabled us, or even compelled us, to show some tangible result.

## A GENTLE COMPLAINT.

May I here lodge a gentle, humble complaint against His Majesty's advisers? Having brought us together from over the seas, and knowing, as I take it they do know, that we are all of us, without exception, busy people, as they themselves are, and that we have left our respective posts of duties, having brought us together is it not possible for them to give us a lead? Can I not, through you, appeal to them to let us know their mind? I should be delighted, and I feel that would be the proper procedure too, if I may venture to say so in your presence, if they would bring forward concrete proposals for taking our opinion. If some such thing was done I have no doubt that we should be able to come to some conclusions, good or bad, satisfactory or unsatisfactory, but, if we simply resolve ourselves into a debating society, each member of which gives an eloquent discourse upon the points severally raised, I do not think that we shall be serving or advancing the purpose for which we have been brought together.

It seems to me that it might be profitable if it is open for you, to appoint a sub-committee to give you some points for conclusion so that our proceedings may be terminated in fair time. I have simply ventured to throw out these suggestions for your consideration, and for the consideration of the members. Perhaps, you will kindly bring them to the notice of His Majesty's advisers for their consideration.

Lord Sankey—Oh, yes, I shall

I do want them to guide us and to give us a lead, and to place their own cards on the table I want them to say what they would do supposing that we appointed them as the arbiters of our destiny If they would be good enough to seek our advice and opinion, then we should give them our advice and opinion That would be in my opinion really a better thing than this state of hopeless uncertainty and endless delay

### IN TERMS OF CONGRESS MANDATE

Having said that, I shall venture to offer a few remarks upon 'head 2' There I share the difficulty that faced Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru If I understood him rightly, he said that he was embarrassed in that he was called upon to deal with several sub-heads when he did not know what the franchise actually would be There is this difficulty that I share with him, but there is an additional difficulty that stares me in the face I placed before the Committee the mandate of the Congress, and I have to discuss every one of the sub-heads in terms of that mandate Therefore, on some of these sub-heads I would have to offer suggestions or my opinion in terms of that mandate, and if the Committee does not know what it is sailing for, naturally, the opinion that I may offer would be really of no value to the Committee The opinion would be of value only in terms of that mandate My meaning will be clear when I come to examine those sub-heads

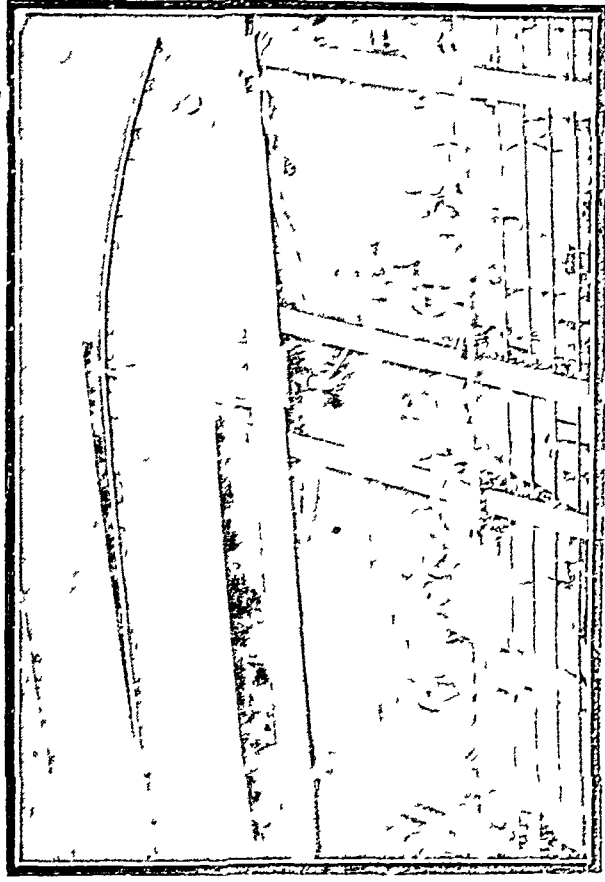
With reference to sub-head (i) whilst my sympathies, broadly speaking, are with Dr Ambedkar, my reason is wholly

with Mr Gavin Jones and Sir Sultan Ahmed, if we were a homogenous sub-committee, whose members were entitled to vote and come to a conclusion, I should then sail a very long distance with Dr Ambedkar, but such is not our position. We are an ill-assorted group, each member of which is perfectly independent, and is entitled to give his or her views. In that state we have no right, in my humble opinion, to say to the States what they shall do and what they shall not do. Those States have very generously come to our assistance and said that they would federate with us and perhaps part with some of their rights which they might otherwise have held exclusively. In that condition, I could not but endorse the opinion given by Sir Sultan Ahmed, which was perhaps emphasised by Mr Gavin Jones, that the utmost that we can do is to plead with the States, and show them our own difficulties, but at the same time I feel that we have to recognise their special difficulties also.

## PLEA FOR STATES PEOPLE

Therefore, I can only venture a suggestion or two to the great Princes for their sympathetic consideration, and I would urge this, being a man of the people, from the people, and endeavouring to represent the lowest classes of society—I would urge upon them the advisability of finding a place for themselves also in any scheme that they may evolve and present for the acceptance of this sub-Committee. I feel, and I know, that they have the interests of their subjects at hearts, but they will, if all goes well, more and more come in contact with popular India, if I may so call British India, and they will want to make common cause with the inhabitants of that India, as the people

## AU REVOIR !



Mahatma, on whose right are Pandit Malviya, Mr. Naidu and Mr. B. acknowledging greetings from the huge mass of humanity that gathered on the Mole to wish him God-speed

GO AWAY FROM LAND OF LOTUS!



Mahatma, Pandit Malaviya and Mrs. Naidu with lotus flowers in their hands standing on deck the steamship, taking their leave of Kasturba and friends

of that India would want to make common cause with the India of the Princes. After all, there is no vital, real division between these two Indias. If one can divide a living body into two parts you may divide India into two parts. It has lived as one country from time immemorial, and no artificial boundary can possibly divide it. The Princes, be it said to their credit, when they declared themselves frankly and courageously in favour of Federation, claimed also to be of the same blood with us, our own kith and kin. How could they do otherwise? There is no difference between them and us, except that we are common people and they are, God has made them, noblemen, princes. I wish them well, I wish them all prosperity, and I also pray that their prosperity and their welfare may be utilised for the advancement of their own dear people, their own subjects.

## PRINCES AND PEOPLE

Beyond this I will not go, I cannot go, I can only make an appeal to them. It is open to them, as we know, either to come into the Federation or not to come into it. It is up to us to make it easy for them to come into the Federation. It is up to them to make it easy for us to welcome them with open arms.

Without that spirit of give and take I know that we shall not be able to come to any definite scheme of Federation, or, if we do, we shall ultimately quarrel and break up. Therefore I would rather that we did not embark upon any federal scheme than that we should do so without our full heart in the thing. If we do so, we should do so whole-heartedly.



## VOTER'S QUALIFICATION

Then, with reference to the second head, on the question whether there should be any disqualification or not, although I claim to be a full-fledged democrat, I have no hesitation in saying that it is entirely consistent with the rights of the voter to have some disqualifications attaching to candidature as also some disqualifications which would unseat a member. What they should be I do not wish to go into at the present moment, I simply say that I would endorse whole-heartedly the idea and the principle of disqualification.

The words 'moral turpitude' do not frighten me. On the contrary, I think they are good words. Of course any words that we may choose with the greatest deliberation will still cause difficulty, but what are judges for if they are not there to surmount those difficulties? In case of difficulty, judges will come to our assistance and will say what comes under the term 'moral turpitude' and what does not, and if, perchance, a person like myself, offering civil resistance, was considered guilty of 'moral turpitude' I will take that I do not mind being disqualified. Some other people might have to suffer hardship also, but on that account I am not disposed to say that there shall be no disqualifications whatsoever, and that, if there were any, it would be an encroachment upon the right of the voter. If we are to have some test or some age limit, I think, we should have some character limit as well.

## PLEDGED TO ADULT SUFFRAGE

Then the third point is as to indirect and direct election. I wish Lord Peel were here to find me in substantial agreement

with him so far as the principle of indirect election is concerned I do not know, I am talking simply as a layman, but the words 'indirect election' do not frighten me I do not know, if they have any technical meaning, if they have, I am wholly unaware of it I shall say what I myself mean If that is also called 'indirect election' I would certainly go round and plead for it, and probably get a large body of public opinion in favour of that method of election I am wedded to adult suffrage Somehow or other, Congressmen swear by it Adult suffrage is necessary for more reasons than one, and one of the decisive reasons to me is that it enables me to satisfy all the reasonable aspirations not only of the Musalmans, but also of the so-called untouchables, of Christians, of labourers and all kinds of classes.

I cannot possibly bear the idea that a man who has got wealth should have the vote but that a man who has got character but no wealth or literacy should have no vote, or that a man who works honestly by the sweat of his brow day in and day out should not have the vote, for the crime of being a poor man. It is an unbearable thing, and having lived and mixed with the poorest of the villagers, and having prided myself on being considered an untouchable, I know that some of the finest specimens of humanity are to be found amongst these poor people, amongst the very untouchables themselves I would far rather forego the right of voting myself than that this untouchable brother should not have the vote

I am not enamoured of the doctrine of literacy, that a voter must at least have a knowledge of the three R's I want for my people a knowledge of the three R's but I know also

that if I have to wait until they have got a knowledge of the three R's before they can be qualified for voting I shall have to wait until the Greek Kalends, and I am not prepared to wait all that time. I know millions of these men are quite capable of voting, but if we are going to give them the vote, it will become very difficult, if not absolutely impossible, to bring them all on the voters' list and have manageable constituencies.

I do share Lord Peel's fear that if we have unwieldy constituencies it is not possible for the candidate to come in personal touch with all this multitude of people or to keep touch with them from time to time and to take their opinion and so on. Although I have never aspired to legislative honours I have had something to do with these electorates and I know how difficult it has been. I also know the experiences of those who have been members of these legislative bodies.

We, in the Congress, therefore, have evolved a scheme, and though the Government of the day have accused us of insolently setting up a parallel Government, I would like to subscribe to that charge in my own fashion. Though we have not set up any parallel Government, we certainly aspire some day or other to displace the existing Government and in due course, in the course of evolution, to take charge also of that Government.

## NO DISTINCTION OF SEX

Having been for the last fourteen years a draftsman of Indian National Congress, and having been for nearly twenty years draftsman for a similar body in South Africa, you will

allow me to share my experience with you In the Congress constitution we have practically adult suffrage. We impose a nominal fee even here I again share Lord Peel's fear that in our poor country we run the risk of having to spend a lot of money merely upon managing our elections I would avoid that, and therefore I would even collect this money I am open to conviction that even 4 annas would be a grave burden, in which case I would waive it, but in any case in the Congress organisation we have that

We have also another distinguishing feature So far as I know the working of voting systems, the registration officer has to put on the voters' list all those who, he considers, are entitled to the vote, and hence, whether a man wishes to vote or not, whether he wants his name to come on the list or not, he finds his name there On one fine morning I found my name on the voters' list in Durban in Natal I had no intention of affecting the legislative position there and I never cared to place my name on the roll of voters, but when some candidate wanted my vote for himself he drew my attention to the fact that I was on the voters' list, and since then I have known that that is how voters' lists are prepared

We have this alternative, that he who wants to vote can have the vote It is, therefore open to those who want to vote to do so, and subject to the condition regarding age and any other condition which may be applicable to all, it will be open to many millions to have their names without distinction of sex on the voters' list I think a scheme of that character would keep the voters' list in a manageable compass

## A. I C C AS CENTRAL LEGISLATURE

Even so we would have millions, and something is needed to link the village with the Central Legislature. We have something analogous to the Central Legislature in the Indian Congress Committee. We have also provincial bodies analogous to the provincial legislatures, and we have also our own tin-pot legislation and we have also our administration. We have got our own Executive. It is perfectly true we have no bayonets to back it, but we have something infinitely superior to back our decisions and to get our people to conform to these decisions, and we have hitherto not found insurmountable difficulties. I do not say that we have been able always to exact obedience fully in all circumstances, but we have been able to scrape through all these 47 years and year after year this Congress has grown from height to height.

Let me tell you that our provincial councils have got full authority to frame bye-laws in order to govern their elections. The corner stone, namely, the qualifications for voters, they cannot change at all, but all other things they can have in their own way.

Therefore, I will take only one province where this thing is done. Villages elect their own little committees. These committees elect the taluka committees (taluka is a sub-district) and these taluka committees again elect the district council, and the district councils elect provincial councils. The provincial councils send their members to the Central legislature, if I may so dub this All-India Congress Committee. That is how we have been able to do it. Whether in this scheme

we may do this or may do something else, I do not mind, but I have certainly visualised that we have 700,000 villages I believe that the 700,000 include the villages in Princes' India also Then we have 500,000 or a little more in popular India We would have these 500,000 units, each to elect its own representative, and these representatives will be the electorate that would elect, if you will, representatives to the Central or the Federal Legislature, I have simply given you an outline of the scheme It can be filled in if it commends itself to your attention If we are going to have adult suffrage I am afraid that we shall have to fall back upon a scheme somewhat after the style that I have suggested to you Wherever it has been working I can only give you my evidence that it has worked with excellent results, and there has been no difficulty in establishing contact through these respective representatives with the humblest villager The machinery has worked smoothly, and, where people have worked it honestly, it has worked expeditiously, and certainly without any expense worth naming Under this scheme I cannot conceive the possibility of a candidate having to spend Rs 60,000 over an election, or even one lakh I know of some cases in which the expenses have run to one lakh of rupees, in my opinion, an atrocious figure for the poorest country in the world

### ONE CHAMBER WILL DO

Whilst I am upon this, I would like to give you my opinion, for what it may be worth, in connection with bicameral legislatures I find myself, if it would not offend your susceptibilities, in Mr Joshi's company I am certainly not enamoured or I do not swear by two legislatures I have no fear

of a popular legislature running away with itself and hastily passing some laws of which afterwards it will have to repent I would not like to give a bad name to it and then hang the popular legislature I think that a popular legislature can take care of itself, and since we are dealing with the poorest country in the world, the less expenses we have to bear the better it is for us. I do not for one moment endorse the idea that unless we have an Upper Chamber to exercise some control over the popular chamber the popular chamber will ruin the country I have no such fear but I can visualise a state of affairs when there can be a battle royal between the popular chamber and the Upper Chamber Anyway, whilst I would not take up a decisive attitude in connection with it, personally I am firmly of opinion that we can do with one Chamber only and that we can do with it to great advantage We will certainly save a great deal of expense if we can bring ourselves to believe that we shall do with one Chamber I find myself in agreement wholeheartedly with Lord Peel that we need not worry ourselves about precedents We shall set a new precedent ourselves After all we are a continent There is no such thing as absolute similarity between any two human living institutions We have our own peculiar circumstances, and we have our idiosyncrasies I do feel that we shall have in many ways to strike out a new path for ourselves irrespective of precedents Therefore, I feel that we would not go wrong if we tried the method of having one Chamber only Make it as perfect as human ingenuity can, by all means, but be satisfied with only one Chamber Holding these views, I do not need to say anything about sub-heads (iii) and (iv)

## NO SPECIAL REPRESENTATION

I come to sub-head (v), representation by special constituencies of special interests. The Congress has reconciled itself to special treatment of the Hindu-Muslim-Sikh tangle. There are sound historical reasons for it, but the Congress will not extend that doctrine in any shape or form. I listened to the list of special interests. So far as the untouchables are concerned, I have not yet quite grasped what Dr Ambedkar has to say, but, of course, the Congress will share the onus with Dr Ambedkar of representing the interests of the untouchables. The interests of the untouchables are as dear to the Congress as the interests of any other body or of any other individual throughout the length and breadth of India. Therefore, I would most strongly resist any further special representation. Under adult suffrage, labour units certainly do not require any special representation, landlords most decidedly not, and I will give you my reason. There is no desire on the part of the Congress, and there is no desire on the part of our dumb paupers, to dispossess landlords of their possessions, but they would have landlords to act as trustees for their tenants. I think that it should be a matter of pride for the landlords to feel that their ryots, the millions living in villages, would prefer them as their candidates and as their representatives than others coming from other parts or some one from among themselves.

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What will happen is that the landlords will have to make common cause with the ryots, and what can be nobler, what can be better? But, if the landlords insisted on special treatment and special representation in either Chamber, if there



are two Chambers, or in the one popular Chamber, I am afraid that it would be really throwing the apple of discord into our midst, and I am hoping that no such claim will be put forward on behalf of the landlords or any such interest

Then I come to my friends the Europeans, whom naturally Mr Gavin Jones claims to represent I would suggest to him humbly that hitherto they have been the privileged class, they have received the protection that this foreign Government could give, and they have received it liberally If they would now make common cause with the masses of India they need not be afraid, as Mr Gavin Jones said he was afraid, and he read from some document. I have not read it It may be that some Indians also may say, 'Oh, yes, if Europeans, Englishmen, want to be elected by us we are not going to elect them,' but I would undertake to take Mr Gavin Jones throughout the length and breadth of India and show to him that he will be preferred to an Indian if he will make common cause with us Take Charlie Andrews I assure you that he will be elected a delegate in any constituency in India without the slightest difficulty Ask him whether he has not been received throughout the length and breadth of India with open arms I could multiply the instance I appeal to the Europeans to try once to live on the goodwill of the people and not seek to have their interests specially safeguarded or protected, which would be the wrong way to go about the business If they would live in India I would want them to live, I would beseech them to live, as one of us In any case, I do feel that in any scheme to which the Congress can be [party, there is no room

for the protection of special interests The special interests are automatically protected when you have got adult suffrage

So far as the Christians are concerned, if I may cite the testimony of one who is no longer with us, I know that he said, "We want no special protection", and I have letters from Christian organisations saying that they wanted no special protection, and that the special protection that they would get would be by right of humble service

### OATH OF ALLEGIANCE

Now I come to a very delicate point—that is, the Oath of Allegiance I am not able to give any opinion just now, because I want to know what it is to be If it is to be complete freedom, if it is to be complete independence for India, the Oath of Allegiance, naturally, will be of one character If it is to be a subject India, then I have no place there Therefore, it is not possible for me today to give any opinion upon the question of the Oath of Allegiance

### NO ROOM FOR NOMINATION

Then the last question what provision, if any, shall be made in each Chamber for nominated members? Well, in the scheme that the Congressmen have adumbrated there is no room for nominated members I can understand experts coming, or men whose advice might be sought They would give their advice and they would retire I cannot see the slightest justification for clothing them with votes Votes are given only by popular representatives, if we want to have a democratic institution undiluted Therefore, I cannot possibly endorse a scheme where there are nominated members, but

that brings me back to sub-head (v). Supposing I had that in mind—because we have that in the Congress also—that we want women to be elected, we want Europeans to be elected, we certainly want untouchables to be elected, we want Christians to be elected, and I know well enough that these are very large minorities, but still, these are minorities, and supposing that constituencies so misbehave themselves as not to elect women or Europeans or untouchables or, say, landlords, and they do not do so for no reasonable justification whatsoever, I would have, then, a clause in the constitution which would enable this elected legislature to elect or nominate them. But then it would be a method of electing those who should have been but have not been elected. Perhaps, I have not been able to express my meaning clearly, so I will give you an illustration. We have in one Provincial Congress Council exactly a rule of this character. We have asked the constituencies to elect so many women, so many Musalmans, so many untouchables to the council, but if they fail to do so it is done by the elected body, not from among themselves, but from women who might have been candidates or Musalmans who might have been candidates, and thus they will complete the quota. That is what we do. I would not mind, on the contrary, I would welcome, some such saving clause in order that constituencies may not misbehave, but in the first instance, I would trust the con-

stituencies to elect all classes of people and not become clan-nish or be caste-ridden The Congress mentality, I may assure you, is wholly and absolutely against caste and against the doctrine of superiority and inferiority Congress is cultivating a spirit of absolute equality.

I am sorry for having taken so much of your time but I am thankful to the Chairman for having given me this indulgence

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## FULLEST FREEDOM FOR MINORITIES.

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### No Need for Communal Votes.

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The following is the full text of Mahatma Gandhi's Speech at the Minorities Committee on October 8.—

It is with deep sorrow and deeper humiliation that I have to announce utter failure on my part to secure an agreed solution of the communal question through informal conversations among and with the representatives of different groups. I apologise to you, Mr Prime Minister, and the other colleagues for the waste of a precious week. My only consolation lies in the fact that when I accepted the burden of carrying on these talks, I knew that there was not much hope of success, and still more in the fact that I am not aware of having spared any effort to reach a solution.

### CAUSES OF FAILURE.

But, to say that the conversations have, to our utter shame, failed is not to say the whole truth. The causes of failure were inherent in the composition of the Indian delegation. We are almost all not elected representatives of the parties or groups whom we are presumed to represent, we are here by nomination of the Government. Nor are those whose presence was absolutely necessary for an agreed solution to be found here. Further, you will allow me to say that this was hardly the time to summon the Minorities

Committee It lacks the sense of reality in that we do not know what it is that we are going to get If we knew in a definite manner that we are going to get the thing we want, we should hesitate fifty times before we threw it away in a sinful wrangle, as it would be if the getting of it must depend upon the ability of the present delegation to produce an agreed solution of the communal tangle The solution can be the crown of the Swaraj constitution, not its foundation if only because our differences have hardened,—if they have not arisen,—by reason of the foreign domination I have not a shadow of a doubt that the iceberg of communal differences will melt under the warmth of the sun of freedom

I, therefore, venture to suggest that the Minorities Committee be adjourned *sine-die* and that the fundamentals of the Constitution be hammered into shape as quickly as may be Meanwhile, the informal work of discovering a true solution of the communal problem will and must continue, only it must not balk or be allowed to block the progress of Constitution-building Attention must be diverted from it and concentrated on the main part of the structure.

### HOPE YET

I hardly need to point out to the Committee that my failure does not mean the end of all hope of arriving at an agreed solution My failure does not even mean my utter defeat, there is no such word in my dictionary My confession merely means failure of the special effort for which I presumed to ask for a week's indulgence, which you so generously gave

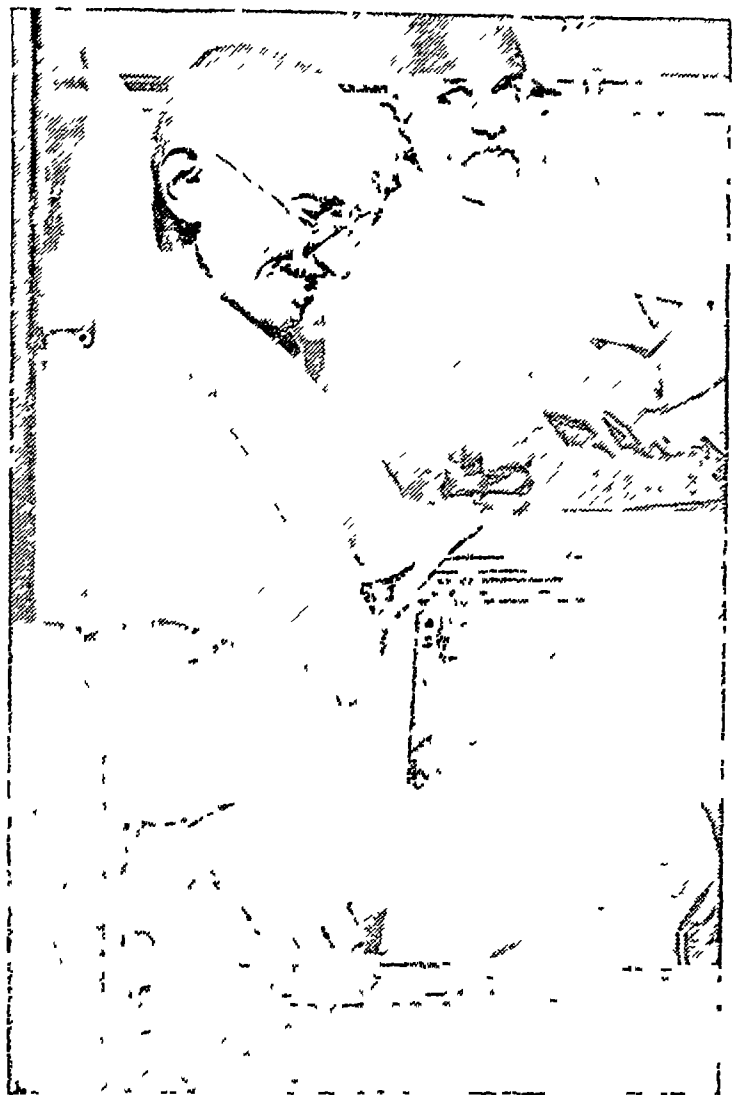
I propose to use the failure as a stepping stone to success, and I invite you all to do likewise, but should all effort at agreement fail, even when the Round Table Conference reaches the end of its labours, I would suggest the addition of a clause to the expected Constitution appointing a judicial tribunal that would examine all claims and give its final decision on all the points that may be left unsettled

Nor need this Committee think that the time given for enabling informal conversation to be carried on has been altogether wasted. You will be glad to learn that many friends, not members of the delegation, have been giving their attention to the question. Among these I would mention Sir Geoffrey Corbett. He has produced a scheme of redistribution of the Punjab which, though it has not found acceptance, is, in my opinion, well worth studying. I am asking Sir Geoffrey if he will kindly elaborate and circulate it among the members. Our Sikh colleagues have also produced another, which is at least worthy of study. Sir Hubert Carr produced last night an ingenious and novel proposal to set up for the Punjab two Legislatures, the lower to satisfy the Musalman claim and the upper nearly satisfying the Sikh claim. Though I am no believer in a bicameral legislature, I am much attracted by Sir Hubert's proposal, and I would invite him to pursue it further with the same zeal with which, I gratefully admit, he followed and contributed to the informal deliberations.

## WHAT CONGRESS MEANS

Lastly, inasmuch as the only reason for my appearance at these deliberations is that I represent the Indian National

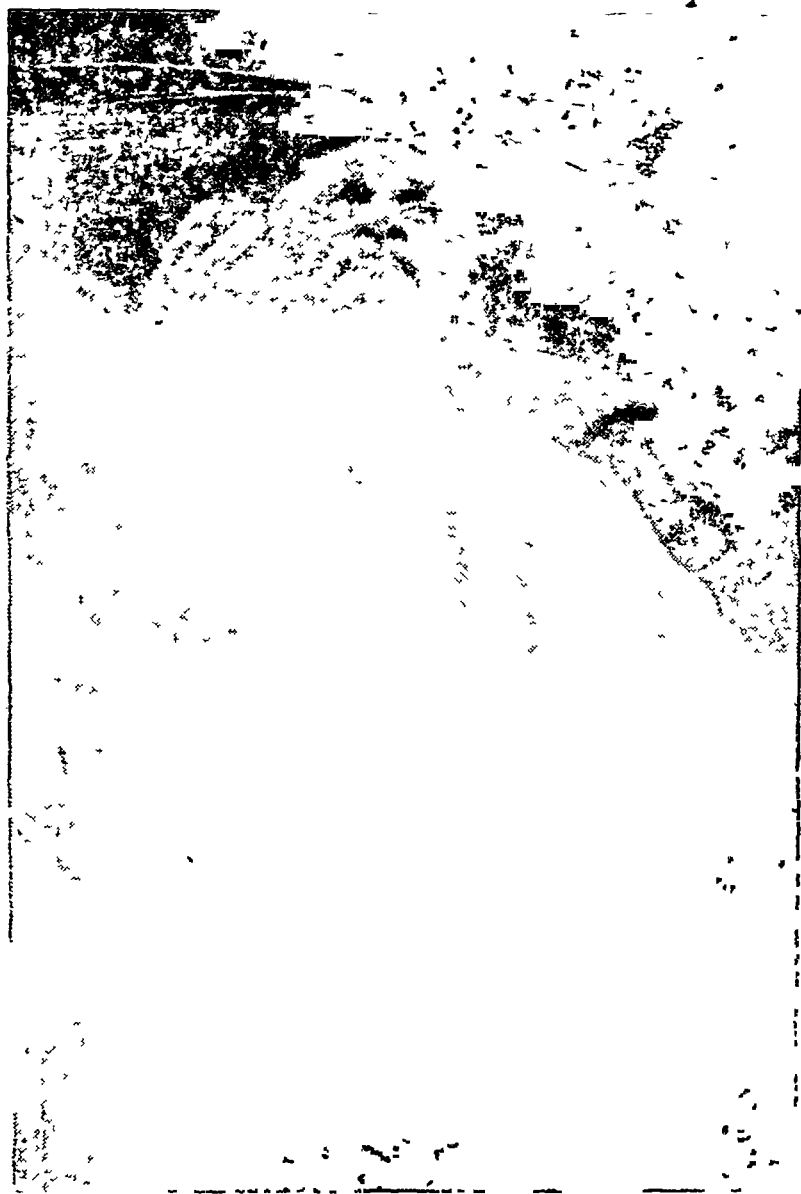
## MAHATMA DISTURBS PANDITJI



An intimate scene from the journey to London. Mark Panditji just got up from nap, evidently by the intrusion of the Mahatma.



## THAT PROPHETIC GESTURE!



Sardar Vallabhbhai sceptically wondering what Mahatmajī would bring from London

Congress, I must clearly set forth its position. In spite of appearances to the contrary, especially at the Round Table Conference, the Congress claims to represent the whole nation, and most decidedly the dumb millions, among whom are included the untouchables, as also in a way the more unfortunate and neglected classes known as Backward Races.

Here is the Congress position in a nut shell. I am reading the resolution, of the Congress and of the Working Committee.

“The Congress has, since its inception, set up pure nationalism as its ideal. It has endeavoured to break down communal barriers. The following Lahore resolution was the culminating point in its advance towards nationalism.

In view of the lapse of the Nehru Report it is unnecessary to declare the policy of the Congress regarding communal questions, the Congress believing that in an independent India, communal questions can only be solved on strictly national lines. But as the Sikhs in particular, and the Muslims and the other minorities in general, had expressed dissatisfaction over the solution of communal questions proposed in the Nehru Report, this Congress assures the Sikhs, the Muslims and other minorities that no solution thereof in any future constitution will be acceptable to the Congress that does not give satisfaction to the parties concerned’.

“Hence the Congress is precluded from setting forth any communal solution of the communal problem, but at this critical juncture in the history of the nation it is felt that the Working Committee should suggest for adoption by the country

a solution, though communal in appearance, yet as nearly national as possible, and generally acceptable to the communities concerned. The Working Committee, therefore, after full and free discussion, unanimously passed the following scheme.

“1 (a) The article in the constitution relating to fundamental rights shall include a guarantee to the communities concerned of the protection of their cultures, languages, scripts, education, profession and practice of religion and religious endowments,

“(b) Personal laws shall be protected by specific provisions to be embodied in the constitution

“(c) Protection of political and other rights of minority communities in the various Provinces shall be the concern and be within the jurisdiction of the Federal Government.

“2. The Franchise shall be extended to all adult men and women

( *Note.* The Working Committee is committed to adult franchise by the resolution of the Karachi Congress and cannot entertain any alternative franchise. In view, however, of misapprehensions in some quarters, the Committee wishes to make it clear that in any event the franchise shall be uniform and so extensive as to reflect on the electoral roll the proportion in the population of every community )

“3 (a) Joint electorates shall form the basis of representation in the future constitution of India.

“(b) That for the Hindus in Sindh and the Muslims in Assam and the Sikhs in the North West Frontier and Punjab, and for Hindus and Muslims in any province where they are less than 25 per cent of the population, seats shall be reserved in the Federal and Provincial Legislatures on the basis of population, with the right to contest additional seats

“4 Appointments shall be made by non-party public service commissions, which shall prescribe the minimum qualifications, and which shall have due regard to the efficiency of the public service as well as to the principle of equal opportunity to all the communities for a fair share in the public services of the country

“5. In the formation of the Federal and Provincial cabinets the interests of minority communities should be recognised by convention

“6 The North West Frontier Province and Baluchistan shall have the same form of Government and administration as other provinces

“7 Sindh shall be constituted into a separate province provided that the people of Sindh are prepared to bear the financial burden of the separated Province

“8 The future constitution of the country shall be Federal The residuary powers shall vest in the federating units unless on further examination it is found to be against the best interests of India

“The Working Committee has adopted the foregoing scheme as a compromise between the proposals based on

undiluted communalism and undiluted nationalism. Whilst on the one hand, the Working Committee hopes that the whole nation will endorse the scheme, on the other, it assures those who take extreme views and cannot adopt it that the Committee will gladly, as it is bound to by the Lahore resolution, accept without reservation any other scheme if it commands the acceptance of all the parties concerned."

That is the Congress resolution

### PREPARED TO COMPROMISE.

"If however, a national solution is impossible and the Congress scheme proves unacceptable, I am not precluded from endorsing any other reasonable scheme which may be acceptable to the parties concerned. The Congress position on this question, therefore, is one of greatest possible accommodation. Where it cannot help, it will not obstruct. Needless to say that the Congress will whole-heartedly support any scheme of private arbitration. It seems to have been represented that I am opposed to any representation of the untouchables on the legislatures. This is a travesty of the truth. What I have said and what I must repeat is that I am opposed to their special representation. I am convinced that this can do them no good and may do much harm. But the Congress is wedded to adult franchise. Therefore, millions of them can be placed on the voters' roll. It is impossible to conceive that with untouchability fast disappearing nominees of these voters can be boycotted by the others. But what these people need more than election to the legislatures is protection from social and religious persecution. Custom which is often more powerful than law, has brought them to a

degradation of which every thinking Hindu has need to feel ashamed and to do penance I should, therefore, have the most drastic legislation rendering criminal all the special persecution to which these fellow-countrymen of mine are subjected by the so-called superior classes Thank God, the conscience of the Hindu has been stirred, and untouchability will soon be a relic of our sinful past

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## THE MINORITIES PROBLEM.

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### Cannot Overshadow the Question of Swaraj.

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*The following is the full text of Mahatma Gandhi's Speech at the Federal Structure Committee on October 9, on the proposal that the committee be adjourned for three days —*

Well, Lord Chancellor, I know that I have been somewhat instrumental in postponing the deliberations of this Committee, and being in that unfortunate position I now feel some diffidence when I say that we cannot afford to waste a single minute. We have come, as you very properly say, all these several thousand miles in order to work, and not in order to seek recreation or holiday, so I would certainly say that if it is at all possible we should go through the work of the Federal Structure Committee without waiting for a single minute.

If at the back of our minds, individually or collectively, the thought is lurking that even though we might be sitting over the deliberations of the Federal Structure Committee we would be really marking time until the Minorities question is settled—that really is the feeling which we would not or we dare not express—then I would suggest that we express that feeling and come to a decision.

### THE PLACE OF MINORITIES QUESTION

I myself endeavoured to express my own deliberate opinion yesterday, that there is not that absolutely vital connection with the work of this Committee. The Minorities question is undoubtedly a very important, if not the most important question. It has always occupied in my own mind its natural place but it

has never overshadowed the other equally important consideration, and after having laboured at this question for seven days I saw more clearly, than I had seen before, that probably the minority question would not be satisfactorily settled unless the great fundamental questions were settled, and that being my conviction, I should like the proceedings of this Committee to be clothed with reality, and that on several heads which you, with your amazing industry, have been piling upon us from day to day and week to week we should come to summary decisions

The Chairman Hear, hear

Mahatma Gandhi —Instead of making speeches, therefore, if I may give my opinion without any mental reservation whatsoever, I would suggest that if we really feel, as I feel that we should consider and face the questions that are before this Committee on their merits, irrespective of what may happen in connection with the Minorities question, then I say that we shall get the strength to go through this work without coming to grief if we mean serious business

The Chairman I agree

Mahatma Gandhi But I repeat, as I conclude, that if at the back of our minds the impression is that we should continue to work and yet not work, I think that it would not be just to India, it would not be just to ourselves, and it would not be just to the British Ministers either Therefore I feel most strongly that we do not need any holiday, every minute that we have is really pledged to this work and no other

The Chairman Thank you I am very much obliged to Mr Gandhi I do not think there is any disagreement between us.



## THE MINORITY TANGLE.

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### A Rejoinder to Premier.

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*Though deeply distressed over the unfortunate results of the communal negotiations, Mahatma Gandhi still retained his usual optimistic outlook, and had no reason to believe that he could not succeed*

*"Though it is a matter for deep sorrow that the negotiations for a communal settlement have failed, I have not given up hopes of success," he said in a statement issued immediately after the Premier's announcement of the failure of the "Minority problem"*

*"In spite of the Premier's energetic disclaimer, I still hold that the causes of the failure were inherent in the composition of the conference. I am also more than ever convinced that the framing of a constitution should not depend upon a previous settlement of the communal question*

*It was, therefore, wrong for the Premier to suggest that further progress in constitution-making largely depended upon the settlement of this question*

*In judging the events in England, the public in India will do well to bear in mind these two defects in the Government position. They will then not become nervous, each time they hear of a failure of negotiations "*

As to the merits of the controversy, I have had several protracted conversations with the Muslim delegation, but we could not come to any final conclusions. I have felt the absence of Dr Ansari as a severe handicap, but it would not be of real use, unless the Muslim delegation desire or approve of his selection as a delegate.

The position I have taken up is therefore, of a double character.

In my individual capacity, I have retained my original position, namely, to concede all to all parties. But as the Congress delegate, I have endeavoured to act as an intermediary up to now without success. I have made it clear that I should have to receive the sanction of the Working Committee, before I could accept any scheme.

I have made no reference to the Working Committee, as I have nothing definite before me. At the same time, I am keeping myself in touch with all the parties, and the moment I have anything on which I will take action, I shall ask for instructions.

Meanwhile, I would warn the public against being affected and agitated over newspaper reports "

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## “NOT THE CROWN BUT THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.”

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### The Supremest Judicial Authority in India.

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*On October 23, Mahatma Gandhi put before the Federal Structure Committee the Congress view on a Federal Court in India*

*“In my opinion,” said Mahatmaji, “the Supreme Court has to be, if we are responsible, under the responsible Government and, therefore, the process of carrying out the writ has also to be made good by the responsible Government”*

*“I must confess,” said Gandhiji explaining the position of the Crown, “that according to the conception of the Congress, there is no question of the Crown India is to enjoy complete independence, and if India enjoys complete independence, whoever the supreme authority there may be, that supreme authority will be responsible for the appointment of judges and several other matters which belong to the Crown”*

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Mahatma Gandhi said —

Lord Chancellor and fellow Delegates,

I feel considerable hesitation in speaking on this subject which has been rendered so highly technical by the course that the discussion has taken, but I feel that I owe a duty to

the Congress which I represent I know that the Congress holds some decided views on the question of the Federal Court, views which, I am afraid, may be very distasteful to a large number of the Delegates here. Whatever they are, seeing that they are held by a responsible body, it is I suppose, necessary that I should at least present them to you.

I see that the discussions proceed, if not upon utter distrust, upon considerable distrust of ourselves. It is assumed that the National Government will not be able to conduct its affairs in an impartial manner. The communal tangle also is colouring the discussion. The Congress, on the other hand, bases the whole of its policy on trust and in the confidence that when we shall have come into power we shall also come to a sense of our responsibility, and all the communal bias will drop out. But should it prove otherwise, then too the Congress would run the boldest risks, without running risks we shall not be able to come to exercise real responsibility. So long as we have the mental reservation that we have to rest upon some foreign power for our guidance and for conducting our affairs at a critical juncture, so long, in my opinion, there is no responsibility.

### AMBEDKAR'S DIFFICULTY

One feels also embarrassed by the fact that we really are trying to discuss this thing without knowing where we shall be. I should give one opinion if Defence was not under the control of the responsible Government, and another opinion if Defence was under our own control. I proceed upon the

assumption that if we are to enjoy responsibility in the real sense of the term Defence will be under our control, under National control in every sense of the term I entirely sympathise with Dr Ambedkar in the difficulty that he raised. It is all very well to have a judgment of the highest tribunal, but if the writ of that tribunal does not run beyond the confines of its own court, that tribunal will be a laughing-stock of the nation and of the whole world. What is then to be done in connection with that writ? What Mr Jinnah said, of course, came home—that the military would be there—but it will be the Crown that will run the writ. Then, I would say, let the High Court also, or the Federal Court, be under the Crown. In my opinion, the Supreme Court has to be, if we are responsible, under the responsible Government, and therefore, the process of carrying out the writ has also to be made good by the responsible Government. Personally, I do not share the fears that actuate Dr Ambedkar, but I think that his objection is a very reasonable objection, and that a court which gives judgments should also have perfect confidence that its judgments will be respected by those who are affected by its judgment, and hence, I would suggest that the judges should have the power of framing rules in order to regulate matters in connection with those judgments. Naturally the enforcement will not rest with the Court, the enforcement will rest with the executive authority, but the executive authority would have to conform to the rules that might be framed by the Court.

We fancy that this constitution is going to give us every detail in connection with the composition of this Court. I

respectfully differ from that view in its entirety I think that this constitution will give us the framework of the Federal Court, will define the jurisdiction of the Federal Court, but the rest will be left to the Federal Government to evolve I cannot possibly understand that the constitution is also going to tell us how many years the judges are to serve, or whether they are to resign or retire at the age of 70, or 95, or 90, or 65, I think that these will be matters to be taken up by the Federal Government Of course, we bring in the Crown at the end of almost every sentence I must confess that, according to the conception of the Congress, there is no question of the Crown India is to enjoy complete independence, and if India enjoys complete independence, whoever may be the supreme authority there, that supreme authority will be responsible for the appointment of judges and several other matters which today belong to the Crown

### OUR OWN PRIVY COUNCIL

It is a fundamental belief with the Congress that, whatever course the Constitution takes, there should be our own Privy Council in India The Privy Council's portals, if it is really to give relief to the poor people in matters of the highest importance, should be open to the poorest people in the land and I think that is impossible if the Privy Council in England is to decide our fate in matters of the greatest importance There, too, I would guide ourselves by implicit trust in the ability of our judges to pronounce wise and absolutely impartial decisions I know that we run very great risks The Privy Council here is an ancient institution, and an institution which justly commands very great regard and respect, but in spite of

all the respect that I have for the Privy Council I cannot bring myself to believe that we also will not be able to have a Privy Council of our own which will command universal esteem. Because England can boast of very fine institutions, I do not think that therefore we must be tied down to those institutions. If we learn anything whatsoever from England, we should learn to erect those institutions ourselves, otherwise there is a poor chance for the nation whose representatives we claim to be. Therefore, I would ask us all to have sufficient trust and confidence in ourselves at the present moment. Our beginning may be very small, but, if we have strong, true and honest hearts to give decisions it does not matter in the slightest degree that we have not got the legal traditions which the judges in England claim.

### WIDEST JURISDICTION

That being my view, I feel that this Federal Court should be a court of the widest jurisdiction possible, and not decide only cases that arise from the administration of Federal Laws. Federal Laws of course will be there, but it should have the amplest jurisdiction to try all the cases that may come from the four corners of India.

It is, then, a question where the subjects of the Princes will be and where they will come in. Subject to what the Princes may have to say, I would suggest, with the greatest deference and with equal hesitation, that there will be, I hope at the end of it, if we are going to make something out of this Conference, something which will be common to all India, to all the inhabitants of India, whether they come from the States or whether they come from the rest of India. If there

is something in common between all of us, naturally the Supreme Court will be the guardian of the rights that we may consider to be common to all. What those rights should be I am totally unable to say. It is entirely for the Princes to say what they can be and what they cannot be. In view of the fact that they represent here not only their own Houses but have taken on themselves the tremendous responsibility of representing their subjects also at this Conference, I would certainly make a humble but fervent appeal to them that they would of their own accord come forth with some scheme whereby their subjects also may feel that though they are not directly represented at this table their voices find adequate expression through these noble Princes themselves.

### NO BIG SALARY

So far as the salary is concerned, you will laugh, naturally, but the Congress believes that it is an impossible thing for us who, in terms of wealth, are a nation of dwarfs, to vie with the British Government, which represent today giants in wealth. India, whose average income is 3d per day, can ill afford to pay the high salaries that are commanded here. I feel that it is a thing which we will have to unlearn if we are going to have voluntary rule in India. It is all very well so long as the British bayonet is there to squeeze out of these poor people taxes to pay these salaries of Rs 10,000 a month, Rs 5,000 a month, and Rs 20,000 a month. I do not consider that my country has sunk so low that it will not be able to produce sufficient men who will live somewhat in correspondence with the lives of the millions and still serve India nobly, truly and well. I



do not believe for one moment that legal talent has to be bought if it is to remain honest

### DAS AND MOTILAL

I recall the names of Motilal Nehru, C R Das, Manomohan Ghosh, Badrudin Tyabji and a host of others, who gave their legal talent absolutely free of charge and served their country faithfully and well. The taunt may be flung in my face that they did so because they were able to charge princely fees in their own professional work. I reject that argument, for the simple reason that I have known everyone of them with the exception of Manomohan Ghosh. It was not that they had plenty of money and therefore gave freely of their talent when India required it. I have seen them living the life of poor people and in perfect contentment. Whatever may be the position at the present moment, I can point out to you several lawyers of distinction who, if they had not come to the national cause, would today be occupying seats of the High Court benches in all parts of India. I have, therefore, absolute confidence that when we come to frame our own rules and so on we will do so in a patriotic spirit and taking account of the miserable state that the millions of India occupy.

One word more and I have finished. Seeing that the Congress holds the view that this Federal Court or Supreme Court—whichever you call it—will occupy the position of the highest tribunal beyond which no man who is an inhabitant of India can go, its jurisdiction, in my opinion, will be limitless. It will have jurisdiction, so far as Federal matters are concerned, to the extent that the Princes are

also willing, but I cannot possibly imagine that we shall have two Supreme Courts, one in order to deal with merely Federal law and another to deal with all the other matters that are not covered by the Federal administration or the Federal Government.

As things go, the Federal Government may concern itself with the minimum of subjects, and therefore matters of the highest moment will be extra-Federal. Who is to adjudicate upon these extra-Federal matters if not this very Supreme Court? Therefore this Supreme Court or Federal Court will exercise double jurisdiction, if necessary treble jurisdiction. The greater the power that we give to this Federal Court, I think, the greater the confidence we shall be able to inspire in the world and also in the nation itself.

### MY HANDICAP

I am sorry to have taken up these precious minutes of the time of the Conference, but I felt that, in spite of my great reluctance to speak to you on this question of a Federal Court, I must give you the views that many of us in the Congress have been holding for a long time and which, we would, if we could, spread throughout the length and breadth of India. I know the terrible handicap under which I am labouring. All the most distinguished lawyers are arrayed against me, the Princes also are probably arrayed against me so far as the salaries and jurisdiction of this Court are concerned. But I would be guilty of neglect of duty to the Congress and to you if I did not give you the views that the Congress and I hold so strongly on the matter of the Federal Court.

Chairman We are so very much obliged to Mahatma Gandhi for so very frankly and so very fearlessly expressing his view We are here to exchange views and to hear arguments upon them, that is the object of the Conference If he will allow me to say so, when you know what a man wants you can do your best to meet him, and he will no doubt do his best to meet you The difficulty is to negotiate with a man who does not know what he wants I am very much obliged to Mr Gandhi for putting his views before us like that It will always be my ambition to try and go as far as possible to meet them, and indeed, as far as possible to meet anybody's views I am sure, we shall have that spirit of accommodation all round the Federal Structure Committee Meanwhile, let me express my personal thanks to Mr Gandhi for putting before us so very frankly and so very fearlessly what his views upon this subject are

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"You Clipped our Wings Give them Back."

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## An Impassioned Plea for Defence Control.

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*On November 17, Mahatma Gandhi put before the Federal Structure Committee the Congress view on the question of Army and External Relations*

*"The Congress Case," said Mahatmaji, "is complete responsibility should be transferred to India That means that there should be complete Control of Defence and External Affairs but it also contemplates adjustment" "The nation that does not control its Defence forces and External policy," asserted Gandhiji, "is hardly a responsible Nation"*

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Mahatma Gandhi said

Lord Chancellor and Fellow Delegates, I know that a tremendous responsibility rests upon my shoulders in having to give the Congress view on this most important question. I have intervened at this stage because I am in one of these November fogs I do not know whether there will, or will not be a Report upon this discussion I do not know also whether we are going summarily to close these deliberations or whether they are to be extended So far as I am concerned, I come here with the intention, if necessary, of wintering in England Therefore, time is of no consequence, if, perchance, the purpose of the Congress can be obtained through friendly negotiation and consultation I have been

sent here with the deliberate intention of exploring every possible avenue to achieve an honourable settlement, whether by open discussion at this table or by private conferences with Ministers and public men who influence public opinion here, and with all those who are interested in questions vitally affecting India I am under obligation not to leave a single stone unturned in order to arrive at a settlement, if only because Congress is wedded to a policy which is known to you all Congress is intent upon reaching its goal at the earliest possible moment, and holds also very decided views upon all these matters What is more to the purpose, it is today, or considers itself today, capable of shouldering all the responsibilities that flow from responsible selfgovernment.

That being the case, I thought that I could not possibly allow the discussion on this most important matter to close without placing, as humbly as I could, and as briefly as I could, the Congress view on the question

### COMPLETE RESPONSIBILITY

As you all are aware, the Congress case is that there should be complete responsibility transferred to India That means, and it has been so stated expressly in the Congress resolution, that there should be complete control over Defence and over External Affairs But it also contemplates adjustments I feel that we ought not to deceive ourselves, and deceive the world, into thinking that we would be getting responsible government although we may not ask for responsibility in this vital matter I think that a nation that has no control over her own Defence Forces and over her External Affairs, is hardly a responsible nation If a nation's Defence

is controlled by an outside agency, no matter how friendly it is, then that nation is certainly not responsibly governed. This is what our English teachers have taught us times without number, and therefore, some Englishmen twitted me also when they heard the talk that we would have responsible Government but we would not have or would not claim control over our own Defence Forces.

I am here very respectfully to claim, on behalf of the Congress, complete control over the Army, over the Defence Forces and over External Affairs. I put in External Affairs also so as to avoid having to speak on it when Sir Taj Bahadur Sapru speaks on that subject.

To this conclusion we have come with the greatest deliberation. If we do not get this control at the time of embarking upon responsibility because we are not deemed fit for it, I cannot conceive a time when, because we are enjoying responsibility in other matters, we would be suddenly found fit to control our own Defence Forces.

## AN ARMY OF OCCUPATION

I would like this Committee, for just a few brief moments, to understand what this Army at the present moment means. This Army, in my opinion, whether it is Indian or whether it is British, is really an Army of Occupation. It does not matter to us that they are Sikhs, or that they are Gurkhas or that they are Pathans or that they are men from Madras or that they are Rajputs, no matter who they are, they are foreigners to me whilst they are in that Army, controlled by an alien government. I cannot speak to

them. Soldiers have come to me stealthily, and have been afraid even of speaking to me, because they felt that they might be reported. It is not possible for us ordinarily to go to the places where the soldiers are kept. They are also taught not to regard us as their countrymen. Unlike any other country in the world, there is absolutely no intercourse between them and the ordinary civil population. This I give as my evidence before this Committee as a man who has endeavoured to come into touch in all parts of Indian life with all those with whom it was possible to do so, and this is not only my own personal experience but it is the experience of hundreds and thousands of Congressmen that there is an absolute wall between them and us.

I am quite aware that, therefore, it is a tremendous thing for us at once to shoulder that responsibility and to have control of this Army, even excluding the British soldiers. That is the unfortunate, unhappy position created for us, I am sorry to have to say, by our rulers. But even so, we must take up the responsibility.

Then there is the British section of the Army. What is the purpose of the British Army? Every Indian child knows that the British Army is there, along with the Indian Army, for the defence of British interests, not alone for avoiding or resisting foreign aggression. I am sorry to have to make these remarks, but that is precisely what I have learned and have experienced, and it would be unjust even to my British friends.

I did not give expression to the truth as I have seen it and as I hold it. Thirdly, it is an Army intended to suppress rebellion against British authority.

These then, are the main functions of that Army, and hence it does not surprise me that Englishmen should take the view they do. If I were an Englishman, and had also the ambition to rule another nation, I would do precisely the same thing. I would take hold of Indians and train them as soldiers, and I would train them to be loyal to me, so loyal that they would, at my command, shoot anybody I desired them to shoot. Who was it that shot people at Jallianwala Bagh, if it was not their own countrymen?

The existence of the British troops is also intended to serve the purpose of holding the balance between these different Indian soldiers evenly. It undoubtedly protects, as it must protect, the British officers, and it protects British lives. Again I do not make any complaint, if I should assume the premise that it was right for Great Britain to hold India today and to continue to hold India, no matter under what altered conditions.

### A VITAL CONDITION

That being so, I have no difficulty in answering the question which Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru would not face and which Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya also would not face. Both of them said that, not being experts, they were not able to say to what extent this Army could be or should be reduced. I, however, have no such difficulty. I have no difficulty in saying what should happen to this Army. I would say emphatically that before I could possibly shoulder the burden of running the government of India under the terrible handicaps under which we are labouring as a legacy of alien rule, the



'whole of this Army should be disbanded if it does not pass under my control

This being my fundamental position, I would say that if you, British ministers and British people, really wish well by India, if you will transfer power now to us, then, regard this as a vital condition that the Army should pass under our control in its entirety

### A CHERISHED DREAM

But, then, I have told you that I know the risk that is attendant upon it. The Army will not accept my command. I know that very well. I know that the British Commander-in-Chief will not accept my command, nor would the Sikhs, nor the proud Rajputs,—none of them would willingly accept my command. But even so, I expect to exercise that command, with the good-will of the British people. They will be there at the time of transferring the command to teach a new lesson to these very soldiers, and to tell them that they are after all serving their own countrymen if they do so. British troops may also be told, "now you shall remain here not to protect British interests and British lives, but to protect India against foreign aggression, even against internal insurrection, as if you were defending and serving your own countrymen." That is my dream. I know that I shall not realise that dream here. That is what I feel. The evidence that is before me, the evidence of my senses, tells me that I am not going to realise that dream today and here, as a result of the deliberations of this conference. But, I should still cherish that dream. It is the dream I should like to cherish up to the end of my time. Seeing the atmosphere here, I know that I cannot infect

British statesmen or the British public with the idea or with the ideal that this could be also their cherished mission. But that is how I would interpret the Prime Minister's declaration, that is how I would interpret Lord Irwin's wishes. It should be the proud privilege and the proud duty of Great Britain now to initiate us in the mysteries of conducting our own defence. Having clipped our wings, it is their duty to give us wings wherewith we can fly, even as they fly. That is really my ambition, and, therefore, I say, I would wait till eternity if I cannot get control of defence. I refuse to deceive myself that I am going to embark upon Responsible Government although I cannot control my Defence.

### PAST RECORD

After all, India is not a nation which has never known to defend herself. There is all the material there. There are the Musalmans, standing in no dread of foreign invasion. The Sikhs will refuse to think that they can be conquered by anybody. The Gurkha, immediately he develops the national mind, will say "Alone, I Can defend India." Then there are the Rajputs who are supposed to be responsible for a thousand Thermopylae. That is what the Englishman, Colonel Tod, has told us. Colonel Tod has taught us to believe that every pass in Rajputana is a Thermopylae. Do these people stand in need of learning the arts of defence? I assume that, if I shoulder the burden of responsibility, all these people are going to join hands. I am here writhing in agony to see that we have not yet come to terms on the communal question, but whenever the communal settlement comes, it must presuppose that we are going to trust each other. Whether the rule is

predominantly Musalman or Sikh or Hindu, they will not rule as Hindus or Musalmans or Sikhs, but they will rule as Indians. If we have distrust of one another, then, we want British people there, if we do not want to be killed by one another. But then let us not talk of Responsible Government.

I, at least, cannot possibly think that we have got Responsible Government, without control of the Army. I feel deep down at the bottom of my heart that if we are to have Responsible Government—and the Congress wants Responsible Government,—the Congress has faith in itself, in the masses of the people, and in all those brave military races, and what is more, the Congress has faith also in Englishmen some day doing their duty and transferring complete control to us,—we must infect the British with that love for India, which would enable her to stand on her own feet. If the British people think that we shall require a century before that can be done, then for that century the Congress will wander in the wilderness. Congress must go through that terrible fiery ordeal, it must go through the storm of distress, of misrepresentation and if it becomes necessary and if it is God's will—a shower of bullets. If this happens, it will be because we cannot trust one another and because Englishmen and Indians have different angles of vision.

### SAFEGUARDS

That is my fundamental position. I do not want to go into it in detail. I have put this case as forcibly as I am capable of putting it. But if this one thing is admitted, I am resourceful enough to submit and frame safeguard after safeguard which will commend themselves to any unbiassed mind,

provided that it is common cause that those safeguards must be in the interests of India. But I want to go further and endorse what Lord Irwin said, that although the safeguards in the Pact are stated to be in the interests of India, they must be considered, as in the mutual interests of India and England. I do not conceive a single safeguard that will be only in the interests of India, not a single safeguard that will not be also in the interests of Great Britain, provided that we contemplate a partnership, a partnership at will, and a partnership on absolutely equal terms.

The very reasons that I have given you today for demanding complete control for the Army are also reasons for pleading for and for demanding control over our external affairs.

### EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Not being well versed in what is really meant by external affairs, and having to plead my ignorance of what is stated in those Reports of the Round Table Conference on the subject, I asked my friends, Mr. Iyengar and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, to give me a first lesson in what is meant by external affairs and foreign relations. I have got their reply before me. They state that the words mean relations with neighbouring powers, relations with Indian States, relations with other powers in international affairs, and relations with the Dominions. If these are external affairs, I think we are quite capable of shouldering the burden and discharging our obligations in connection with external affairs. We can undoubtedly negotiate terms of peace with our own kith and kin, with our own neighbours, with our own countrymen, the Indian princes. We can cultivate the friendliest relations with our neighbours, the Afghans, and

across the seas with the Japanese, and certainly we can negotiate with the Dominions also. If the Dominions will not have our countrymen to live there in perfect self-respect, we can deal with them.

It may be that I am talking out of folly, but you should understand that Congress has thousands and tens of thousands of foolish men and women like me, and it is on behalf of these that I respectfully register this claim, again saying that with the safeguards we have conceived we shall literally fulfil our obligations.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has sketched the safeguards. With much of what he has said I entirely associate myself, but those are not the only safeguards. If Englishmen and Indians put their heads together, sailing in the same direction with no mental reservation whatsoever, it is possible, I submit with every confidence, that we would bring into being safeguards which will be honourable alike to India and to England, and which would be guarantee for the safety of every British life and the safety of every British interest to which India pledges her honour. Lord Chancellor, I cannot go further. I tender a thousand apologies for taking up the time of this meeting, but you can understand the feeling that is welling up in me sitting here day after day, and thinking of it day and night, how these deliberations can come to a successful issue. It is a feeling of absolute goodwill towards Englishmen and a feeling of absolute service to my countrymen.

## “DISCRIMINATE IN FAVOUR OF FAMISHING INDIANS”

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### “Swaraj Can Tolerate No Racial Discrimination.”

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*At the meeting of the Federal Structure Committee, on November, 19, Mahatma Gandhi placed before it the Congress view regarding the claim of British Merchants in India for financial safeguards in the future Indian Constitution. He dissented emphatically from the resolution arrived at by the Round Table Conference last year and emphasised that the only discrimination desired was one “in favour of famishing Indians”*

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Mahatma Gandhi said —

Lord Chancellor and friends,

I would like to tender my congratulations to Mr Benthall on his very temperate statement, and I wish that he could have seen his way not to spoil that admirable statement by importing two sentiments. One sentiment expressed by him - was 'practically' that Europeans or Britishers claimed what they are 'claiming because of their having conferred certain benefits on 'India. I wish that he could have omitted this opinion, but having expressed it there should have been no 'surprise expressed,' as 'was expressed by Lord Reading,' that there was courteous

retort from Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas, and now as we have heard, reinforced by Sir Phiroze Sethna I wish also that he could have omitted the threat that has been used in that statement on behalf of the great corporation that he represents. He said that the European support to the national demand was conditional upon Indian nationalists accepting the demands of the European community expressed by Mr Benthall, as also the separatist tendency expressed a few days ago in the demand for a separate electorate, and their joining that separatist combination, about which it was my painful position to speak the other day. I have endeavoured to study the resolution passed at the last Conference. Although you are familiar with it, I want to read that resolution again, because I shall want to say a few things in connection with the resolution.

“At the instance of the British commercial community the principle was generally agreed that there should be no discrimination between the rights of the British commercial community, firms and companies trading in India and the rights of Indian born subjects”

### AN EMPHATIC DISSENT.

The rest I need not read. I am extremely sorry, in spite of the great regard and respect I entertain for Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr Jayakar, to have to dissent from this sweeping resolution. I was, therefore, delighted yesterday when Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru readily admitted that it was vague and that it was susceptible of improvement. You will see the general character of this resolution if you will carefully study it. There is to be no discrimination between the rights of the British mercantile community, firms and companies trading in India and

the rights of Indian born subjects. If I have interpreted this correctly, I think that it is a terrific thing, and I, for one, can not possibly commit the Congress to a resolution of this character; much less commit the future Government of India

There is here no qualification whatsoever. The rights of the British commercial community are to stand on exactly the same footing as those of Indian born subjects. Therefore it is not as if there is to be any racial discrimination, or anything of that kind, here the British commercial community enjoy absolutely the same rights as Indian born subjects. I want to state, with all the emphasis that I can command, that I can not even endorse the formula that the rights of all Indian born subjects themselves could even be equal or guaranteed. I shall show you the reason presently.

## TO EQUALISE CONDITION

I think that you will readily grant that in order to equalise the conditions, the future Government of India would be constantly obliged to do what the existing Government has neglected to do, namely, continually to discriminate in favour of the famishing Indians against those who have been blest by nature or by the Government themselves with riches and other privileges. It will be necessary for the future Government, perhaps, to provide quarters free for labour, and the monied men of India might say, "If you provide quarters for them you should give corresponding grants to us, although we do not require quarters of that nature." But the State could not do so. There it would undoubtedly be discrimination in favour of the poor people, and the monied



men might then say, according to this formula, that it would be discrimination against them.

I therefore, venture to suggest that this sweeping formula cannot possibly be accepted by us in this Conference when we are trying to assist His Majesty's Government—in so far as they will accept our assistance—in shaping the future Constitution of India.

But having said this I want to associate myself completely with the British merchants and European houses in their legitimate demand that there should be no racial discrimination. I, who had to fight the great South African Government for over 20 years in order to resist their colour bar and their discriminating legislation directed against Indians as such, could be no party to discrimination of that character against the British friends who are at present in India, or who may in future seek entry. I speak on behalf of the Congress also. The Congress too holds the same view.

### SUGGESTED FORMULA

Therefore, instead of this I would suggest a formula somewhat on these lines, a formula for which I had the pleasure and privilege of fighting General Smuts for a number of years. It may be capable of improvement but I simply suggest this for the consideration of this Committee and especially for the consideration of European friends. "No disqualification not suffered by Indian-born citizens of the State shall be imposed upon any persons lawfully residing in or entering India merely"—I emphasise the word 'merely'

—“on the ground of race, colour or religion”, I think that this is an all-satisfying formula. No Government could possibly go beyond this. The implications of this, are, I am sorry to say, different from the deductions that Lord Reading drew or sought to draw from last year's formula. There would be no discrimination in this formula against a single Britisher, or for that matter, against a single European as such. I propose here to draw no distinction whatever between Britishers or other Europeans or Americans or Japanese. I would not copy the model of the British Colonies or the British Dominions which have, in my humble opinion, disfigured their Statute Books by importing legislation essentially based upon distinctions of colour and race.

### WHAT FREE INDIA CAN DO

India free, I would love to think, would give a different kind of lesson and set a different kind of example to the whole world. I would not wish India to live a life of complete isolation whereby it would live in water-tight compartments and allow nobody to enter her borders or to trade within her borders. But, having said that, I have in my own mind many things that I would have to do in order to equalise conditions. I am afraid that for years to come India would be engaged in passing legislation in order to raise the down-trodden, and the fallen, from the mire into which they have been sunk by the capitalists, by the landlords, by the so-called higher classes, and then, subsequently and scientifically, by the British rulers. If we are to lift these people from the mire, then it would be the bounden duty of the National Government of India, in order to set its house in

order, continually to give preference to these people and even free them from the burdens under which they are being crushed. And, if the landlords, zamindars, monied men and those who are today enjoying privileges—I do not care whether they are Europeans or Indians—if they find that they are discriminated against, I shall sympathise with them, but I will not be able to help them, even if I could possibly do so, because I would seek their assistance in that process, and without their assistance it would not be possible to raise these people out of the mire.

### THE UNTOUCHABLES

Look at the condition, if you will, of the untouchables, if the law comes to their assistance and sets apart miles of territory. At the present moment they hold no land, they are absolutely living at the mercy of the so-called higher castes, and also, let me say, at the mercy of the State. They can be removed from one quarter to another without complaint and without being able to seek the assistance of law. Well, the first act of the Legislature will then be to see that in order somewhat to equalise conditions, these people are given grants freely.

From whose pockets are these grants to come? Not from the pockets of Heaven. Heaven is not going to drop money for the sake of the State. They will naturally come from the monied classes, including the Europeans. Will they say that this is discrimination? They will be able to see that this is no discrimination against them because they are Europeans, it will be discrimination against them because they have got money and the others have got no money. It

will be, therefore, a battle between the haves and the have-nots, and if that is what is feared, I am afraid the National Government will not be able to come into being if all these classes hold the pistol at the heads of these dumb millions and say "You shall not have a Government of your own unless you guarantee our possessions and our rights"

I think I have given a sufficient indication of what the Congress stands for and of the implications of this formula that I have suggested. On no account will they find that there has been discrimination against them because they are English or because they are Europeans or Japanese or belong to any other race. The grounds that will be applicable to them for discrimination will be also the grounds for discrimination against Indian-born citizens.

### ANOTHER FORMULA

I have got another formula also, hurriedly drafted because I drafted it here as I was listening to Lord Reading and to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. It is in connection with existing rights

"No existing interest legitimately acquired, and not being in conflict with the best interests of the nation in general, shall be interfered with except in accordance with the law applicable to such interests"

I certainly have in mind what you find in the Congress resolution in connection with the taking over by the incoming Government of obligations that are being today discharged by the British Government. Just as we claim that these obligations must be examined by an impartial tribunal before they are

taken over by us, so should existing interests be subject to judicial scrutiny when necessary. There is no question, therefore, of repudiation but merely of taking over under examination, under audit. We have here some of us who have made a study of the privileges and the monopolies enjoyed by Europeans, but let it not be merely Europeans there are Indians—peasants, but let it not be merely Indians in mind—who are today in possession of land which has been practically given away to them not for any service rendered to the nation but for some service rendered, I cannot even say to the Government, because I do not think that the Government has benefitted, but to some official, and if you tell me that those concessions and those privileges are not to be examined by the State, I again tell you that it will be impossible to run the machinery of Government on behalf of the 'have-nots,' on behalf of the dispossessed. Hence, you will see here that there is nothing stated in connection with the Europeans. The second formula also is applicable to Indians, as it is applicable, say, to Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas and Sir Phiroze Sethna. If they have obtained concessions which have been obtained because they did some service to the officials of the day and got some miles of land, well, if I had the possession of the Government, I would quickly dispossess them. I would not consider them because they are Indians, and I would, just as readily dispossess Sir Hubert Carr or Mr Benthall, however admirable they are and however friendly they are to me. The law will be no respecter of persons whatsoever. I give you that assurance. After having received that assurance I am unable to go any further. So that, is really what is implied by 'legitimately acquired'—that every interest must have been taintless, it must

be, above suspicion, like Caesar's wife, and therefore, we shall expect to examine all these things when they come under the notice of that Government

## THAT WHITE ELEPHANT—"NEW DELHI"

Then you have "not being in conflict with the best interests of the nation." I have in mind certain monopolies, legitimately acquired undoubtedly, but which have been brought into being in conflict with the best interests of the nation. Let me give you an illustration which will amuse you somewhat, but which is on natural ground. Take this white elephant which is called New Delhi, (Laughter) Crores have been spent upon it. Suppose that the future Government comes to the conclusion that seeing that we have got this white elephant it ought to be turned to some use (Laughter) Imagine that in Old Delhi there is a plague or cholera going on, and we want hospitals for the poor people. What are we to do? Do you suppose the National Government will be able to build hospitals, and so on? Nothing of the kind. We will take charge of those buildings and put these plague-stricken people in them and use them as hospitals, because I contend that those buildings are in conflict with the best interests of the nation. They do not represent the millions of India. They may be representative of the monied men who are sitting at the table, they may be representative of His Highness the Nawab Sahib of Bhopal, or of Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas, or of Sir Phiroze Sethna, or of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, but they are not representative of those who lack even a place to sleep and have not even a crust of bread to eat. If the National Government comes to the conclusion that that place is

unnecessary, no matter what interests are concerned they will be dispossessed, and they will be dispossessed I may tell you, without any compensation, (Laughter), because, if you want this Government to pay compensation it will have to rob Peter to pay Paul, and that would be impossible

It is a bitter pill which has got to be swallowed if a Government, as Congress conceives it, comes into being. In order to take away something from here, I have no desire to deceive you into the belief that everything will be quite all right. I want on behalf of the Congress, to lay all the cards on the table. I want no mental reservation of any description whatsoever, and then, if the Congress position is acceptable, nothing will please me better,—but, if that position is not acceptable, if today I feel I cannot possibly touch your hearts and cannot carry you with me, then the Congress must continue to wander and must continue the process of proselytisation until you are all converted and allow the millions of India to feel that at last they have got a National Government

## DIFFERENTIAL TREATMENT AT TRIALS

Up to now, no one has said a word in connection with two lines which appear at the end of this resolution, namely “It was agreed that the existing rights of the European community in India in regard to criminal trials should be maintained ”

I must confess that I have not been able to study all the implications of it. For some days I have been engaged in carrying on friendly and private conversations with Sir Hubert Carr, Mr Benthall and some friends. I was

discussing this very theme with them and I asked them to tell me what these two things meant and they said it was the same thing for the other communities. I have not ascertained what that means. It means, I suppose, that the other communities also may demand their own jury. This refers to trial by jury. I am afraid, I cannot possibly endorse this formula.

MR JINNAH May I correct you, Mr Gandhi? It refers not only to juries but to the tribunals, the tribunals which will try Europeans and Indians, and there are many other distinctions. It is not merely the jury.

GANDHIJI I did not know that. That is why I said I had not studied it. If there is something more you will pardon my ignorance.

I cannot possibly be a party to such reservations. I think that a National Government cannot possibly be shut in by those restrictions. All the communities today who will be the future Indian nation must start with good will, must start with mutual trust or not at all. If we are told that we cannot possibly have responsible Government that will be a state of things one can understand. But we are told there must be all these reservations and safeguards. It would not be liberty and responsible Government but it would be all safeguards. Safeguards would eat away the whole of the Government. If all these safeguards are to be granted and all the talk here takes concrete shape and we are told that we are to get responsible government it will be almost on a par with the responsible government that prisoners have in their jails. They too have complete independence immediately the cell is locked and the jailor goes. The



prisoners inside that cell about 10 ft square or 7 ft by 3 ft have complete independence. I do not ask for that kind of complete independence, with the jailors safeguarding comfortably their own rights

## AN APPEAL

Therefore, I appeal to our European friends that they should withdraw this idea of safeguarding their rights. I venture to suggest that the two formulæ that I have put forward should be adopted. You may cut them about in any manner you like. If the wording is not satisfactory by all means suggest some other wording. But outside these formulæ of a negative character, whereby there is no bar sinister placed against you, I venture to say, you may not—shall I say 'dare not'—ask for more. So much with reference to existing interests and future trade.

I propose to associate myself entirely with the sentiments that Mr Jayakar expressed while speaking about key industries. The Congress conception is that if the key industries are not taken over by the State itself, the State will at least have a predominant say in the conduct and administration and development of the key industries.

A poor undeveloped country like India is not to be judged as a highly developed individualist Island like Great Britain may be. What is good for Great Britain today is, in my opinion, in many respects poison for India. India has got to develop her own economics, her own policy, her own method of dealing with her industries and everything else. Therefore, so far as the key industries are concerned, I am afraid that not

merely the Britishers but many will feel that they are not having fairplay But I do not know what is the meaning of "fair play" against a State

## COASTAL SHIPPING

And then about Coastal Shipping, the Congress undoubtedly has the greatest sympathy with the desire to develop that trade, but if in the Bill about the coastal trade, there is any discrimination against Europeans as such, I will join hands with the Europeans and fight that Bill or the proposal which discriminates against Englishmen because they are Englishmen But there are those vast interests that have come into being I have travelled fairly frequently up the great river ways of Bengal and I have travelled years ago up the Irrawaddy I know something of that trade By concessions, privileges, favours, whatever you call them, these huge corporations have built up industries, built up companies, and built up a trade which does not admit of any opposition whatsoever

Some of you may have heard of a budding company between Chittagong and Rangoon The Directors of that Company, poor struggling Musalmans, came to me in Rangoon and asked me if I could do anything My whole heart went out to them, but there was nothing to be done What could be done? There is the mighty British India Steam Navigation Company simply underselling this budding company and practically taking the passengers without any passage money at all I could quote instance after instance of that character It is not because it is a British company If it were an Indian company that had usurped this thing it would be the same

Supposing an Indian company was taking away capital, as to-day we have Indians who instead of investing their capital in India invest their capital or invest their monies outside India. Imagine that there was a huge Indian Corporation that was taking away all its profits and investing them in some other parts of the world, fearing that the National Government was not going along a correct policy, and therefore, in order to keep their money intact, they were taking away that money outside. Go a little step further with me and say that these Indian Directors in order to organise in a most scientific and finished and perfect manner brought all the European skill that they could bring there and did not allow these struggling corporations to come into being, I would certainly have something to say and have legislation in order to protect the companies like the Chittagong company.

Some friends could not even float their ships along the Irrawaddy. They gave me chapter and verse in order to assure me that it became utterly impossible, they could not get their licenses, they could not get the ordinary facilities that one is entitled to. Every one of us knows what money can buy, what prestige can buy, and when such prestige is built up which kills all the saplings, to use the expression of Sir John Gorst, it then becomes necessary to lop off the tall poppies. Tall poppies ought not to be allowed to crush these saplings. That is really the case on behalf of the coastal trade. The Bill may have been clumsily worded. That does not matter, but I think the essence of it is absolute'y correct.

### DEFINITION OF CITIZENSHIP

The definition of a citizen is a terrific job. I could not

possibly undertake on the spur of the moment to present, as I understand the Congress mentality of today, what will commend itself to Congress or what will commend itself to me. It is, as I say, a matter on which I would like to confer with Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and other friends and try to understand what is at the back of their minds, because, I must confess, that out of this discussion I have not been able to reach the heart of the thing. I have made the Congress position absolutely clear, that we do not want any racial discrimination, but after having cleared that position I am not called upon now to give a summary decision for the opinion of the Congress in connection with the definition of the word "citizen." Therefore, I would simply say in connection with the word "citizen" that I reserve my opinion as to the definition entirely for the time being.

Having said this, I want to close with this remark. I do not despair of finding a common formula that would satisfy the European friends. The negotiations in which I was privileged to be a party are, I think, still to continue. If my presence is required I will still attend that little Committee meeting. The idea is to enlarge it and give it a little less informal shape and find out a common basis.

I would again hark back to the point that, so far as I can understand it, I cannot think of any detailed scheme which could be incorporated in the Constitution. What can be incorporated in the constitution is some such formula as this, round which all kinds of rights can arise.

## LEGAL REMEDY

There is no conception here, as you see, of doing anything

administratively I have expressed my own hope in connection with the Federal and Supreme Court To me the Federal Court is the Supreme Court, it is the final Court of Appeal beyond which there would be no appeal whatsoever, it is my Privy Council and it is the palladium of liberty It is the court to which every person who is at all aggrieved can go. A great Jurist in the Transvaal—and the Transvaal and South Africa generally have undoubtedly produced very great Jurists once said to me, in regard to a very difficult case, "Though there may be no hope just now, I tell you that I have guided myself by one thing, or else I should not be a lawyer the law teaches us lawyers that there is absolutely no wrong for which there is no remedy to be found in a court of law, and if judges say there is no remedy, then those judges should be immediately unseated" I say that with all deference to you, Lord Chancellor

I, therefore, think that our European friends may rest assured that the future Federal Court will not send them away empty-handed, as we expect to go away empty-handed, if we do not have the favour of the Ministers, who are the present advisers of His Majesty I am still hoping that we shall have their ear and get round their better side, and then we may hope to go away with something substantial in our pockets, but, whether we go away with anything substantial in our pockets or not, I hope that if the Federal Court of my dreams comes into being then the Europeans and everybody—all the minorities—may rest assured that that Court will not fail them, though a puny individual like myself may fail them

Chairman We are very much obliged to Mr Gandhi for that speech. If you will allow me to say so, everybody must be impressed by the earnestness and sincerity with which he advocates his ideals, and I thank him very much indeed. Perhaps he will be good enough to give me those two formulas

### SAPRU'S QUERIES

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru I should like to ask Mahatma Gandhi to explain one part of his speech, in regard to which there is some doubt in my mind. Does he propose that the National Government of the future should examine and investigate the title to property of everyone, and if so, would it be any title acquired within a certain period of time or not? What is the machinery he proposes to bring into existence for the examination of that title and does he propose to give any compensation at all, or that the National Government should simply expropriate property which according to his view or the view of the majority seemed to have been wrongfully acquired?

Chairman You said you wanted to ask one question, and you have asked about twenty!

Gandhi If you will give me permission I will certainly answer those questions, which are very legitimate questions I have really given my view. So far as I understand, it is not intended that the administration should do the thing, everything that is done will be above board.

It will be done by legal machinery. All these claims—

Sri Tej Bahadur Sapru That is what I want to know  
What is that legal machinery to be ?

Gandhiji I have not at the present moment thought  
of any limitation. I think that there is no limitation running  
against a wrong

### "NO TITLE SAFE "

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru Under your National Govern-  
ment therefore no title in India is safe ?

Gandhiji : Under our National Government the  
Congress will decide these things and if there is any undue  
fear about these things I think it is possible to satisfy every  
legitimate doubt. I have no hesitation in saying that generally  
speaking this is a formula which should be accepted Where  
complaints are made and there are legitimate rights acquired  
it should be open to the court of law to examine those rights.  
I am not going to say to-day in taking over the Government  
that I shall examine no rights whatsoever, no titles that have  
been acquired

Chairman . I think each of you will consider what  
the other has said and we will consider what both of you  
have said.

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## “DISSECTING A CARCASS”

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### Premier's Fallacies Exposed.

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On behalf of the Congress Mahatma Gandhi entered a vehement protest against the Premier's god-fathering of the fallacious scheme drawn by the pseudo-leaders who imagined that they represented the minorities mentioned against their names

*“ I have no hesitation in saying to His Majesty's Government and, indeed, to the whole world that this scheme is not one designed to achieve responsible Government, but is undoubtedly a scheme designed to share power with the bureaucracy*

*“ If that is the intention—and it is the intention running through the whole document—I wish them well and the Congress is entirely out of it,” declared Mahatma*

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Mahatma Gandhi said —

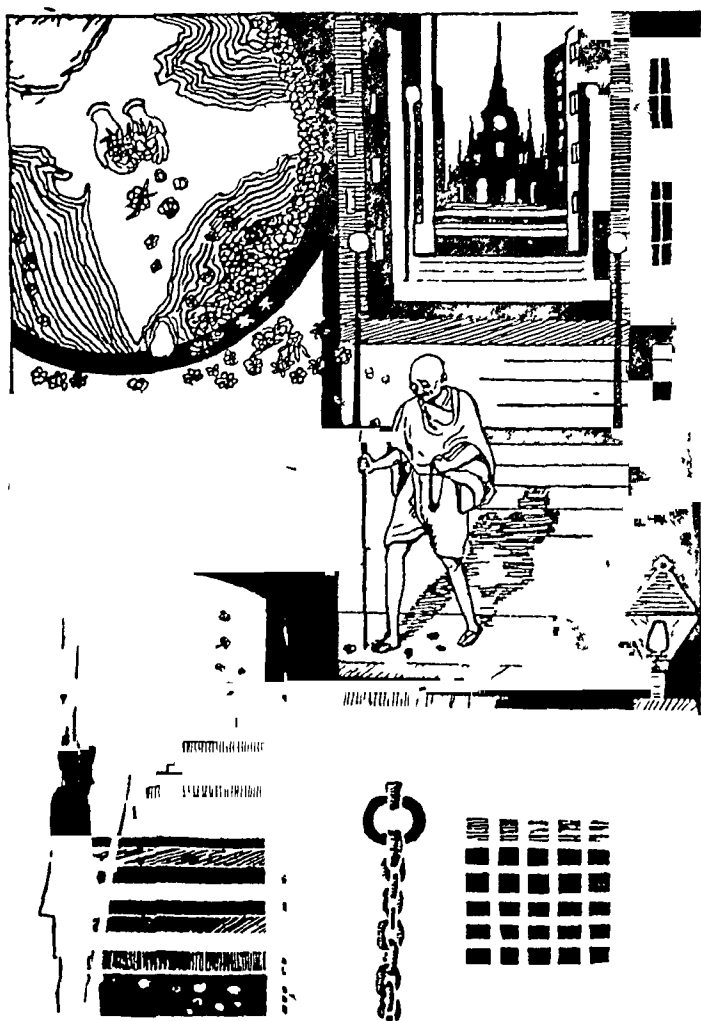
Prime Minister and fellow delegates, it is not without very considerable hesitation and shame that I take part in the discussion on the Minorities question. I have not been able to read with the care and attention that it deserves, the memorandum sent to the delegates on behalf of certain Minorities and received this morning. Before I offer a few remarks on that memorandum, with your permission and with



all the deference and respect that are your due, I would express my dissent from the view that you put before this Committee, that the inability to solve the communal question was hampering the progress of Constitution-building, and that it was an indispensable condition prior to the building of any such constitution. I expressed at an early stage of the sittings of this Committee that I did not share that view. The experience that I have since gained has confirmed me in that view and, if you will pardon me for saying so, it was because of the emphasis that was laid last year and repeated this year upon this difficulty, that the different communities were encouraged to press with all the vehemence at their command their own respective views. It would have been against human nature if they had done otherwise. All of them thought that this was the time to press forward their claims for all they were worth, and I venture to suggest again that this very emphasis has defeated the purpose which, I have no doubt, it had in view. This is the reason why we have failed to arrive at an agreement. I, therefore, associate myself entirely with the view expressed by Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, that it is not this question which is the fulcrum, it is not this question which is the central fact, but the central fact is the Constitution-building.

## WE COME FOR FREE CONSTITUTION

I am quite certain that you did not convene this Round Table Conference and bring us all 6,000 miles away from homes and occupations to settle the communal question, but you convened us, you made deliberate declarations that we were invited to come here, to share the process of Constitu-



Sketch by Kanu Desai



tion-building You declared that before we went away from your hospitable shores, we should have the certain conviction that we had built up an honourable and a respectable framework for the freedom of India, and that it awaited only the *imprimatur* of the approval of the House of Commons and the House of Lords

Now, at the present moment, we are face to face with a wholly different situation, namely, that, because there is no communal settlement agreed to by us, there is to be no building of the Constitution, and that, as the last resort and as the last touch, you will announce the policy of His Majesty's Government in connection with the Constitution and all the matters that may arise from it I cannot help feeling that it would be a sorry ending to a Conference which was brought into being with so much trumpeting and with so much hope excited in the minds and in the breasts of many people

Coming to this document, I accept the thanks that have been given to me by Sir Hubert Carr Had it not been for the remarks that I made when I shouldered that burden, and had it not been for my utter failure to bring about a solution, Sir Hubert Carr rightly says he would not have found the very admirable solution that he has been able, in common with the other Minorities, to present to this Committee for consideration and finally for the consideration and approval of His Majesty's Government

### DISSECTING THE CARCASS

I will not deprive Sir Hubert Carr and his associates of

the feeling of satisfaction that evidently actuates them, but in my opinion, what they have done is to sit by the carcass, and they have performed the laudable feat of dissecting that carcass.

As representing the predominant political organisation in India, I have no hesitation in saying to His Majesty's Government and to those friends who seek to represent the minorities mentioned against their names and indeed to the whole world, that this scheme is not one designed to achieve responsible Government though undoubtedly, it is designed to share power with the bureaucracy

If that is the intention—and it is that intention running through the whole of that document—I wish them well, and Congress is entirely out of it. The Congress will wander, no matter how many years, in the wilderness rather than lend itself to a proposal under which the hardy tree of freedom and responsible Government can never grow

I am astonished that Sir Hubert Carr should tell us that they have evolved a scheme which, being designed only for a temporary period, would not damage the cause of nationalism, but at the end of ten years we would all find ourselves hugging one another and throwing ourselves into one another's laps. My political experience teaches me a wholly different lesson. If this responsible government, whenever it comes, is to be inaugurated under happy auspices, the nation should not undergo the process of vivisection to which this scheme subjects it, it is a strain which no national government can possibly bear.

## CONGRESS REPRESENTS PEOPLE

There is the coping stone to this structure, and I am surprised, Mr. Prime Minister, that you allowed yourself to mention this as if it were an indisputable fact, namely that the proposals may be taken as being acceptable to well over 115 millions of people, or about 46 per cent of the population of India. You had a striking demonstration of the inaccuracy of this figure. You have had, on behalf of the women, a complete repudiation of special representation, and as they happen to be one-half of the population of India, this 46 per cent is somewhat reduced. But not only that—the Congress may not be a very powerful organisation, but I have not hesitated to make the claim, and I am not ashamed to repeat the claim, that the Congress claims to represent 85 per cent or 95 per cent of the population not merely of British India but of the whole of India.

Dr. Ambedker asked: who are the five per cent that the Congress do not represent?

Mahatma Gandhi proceeded: Subject to all the questions that may be raised, I repeat the claim with all the emphasis at my command that the Congress, by right of service, claims to represent that population which is called the agricultural population of India. I would accept the challenge if the Government were to issue the challenge, that we should have a referendum in India and you would immediately find whether the Congress does not represent them. But I go a step further. At the present moment, if you were to examine the records of the prisons of India, you would find that the

Congress represented there and represents on its register, a very large number of Musalmans. Several thousand Musalmans went to gaol last year under the banner of the Congress. The Congress today has several thousand Musalmans on its register. The Congress has thousands of untouchables on its register. The Congress has Indian Christians also on its register. I do not know that there is a single community which is not represented on the Congress register. With all deference to the Nawab Sahib of Chhatari, even landlords and even Mill-owners and millionaires are represented there. I admit that they are coming to the Congress slowly, cautiously, but the Congress is trying to serve them also. The Congress undoubtedly represents labour. Therefore, this claim that the proposals set forth in this memorandum are acceptable to well over 115,000,000 of people needs to be taken with a very great deal of reservation and caution.

## READY FOR IMPARTIAL ARBITRATION

One word more and I shall have done. You have had presented to you and circulated to the members, I hope, the Congress proposal in connection with the communal problem. I venture to submit that of all the schemes that I have seen, it is the most workable scheme, but I may be in error there. I admit that it has not commended itself to the representatives of the communities at this table, but it has commended itself to the representatives of these very classes in India. It is not the creation of the brain, but it is the creation of a committee on which various important parties were represented. You have a scheme on behalf of the Congress, but the Congress has also suggested that there should be an impartial arbitration

Through arbitration all over the world people have adjusted their differences, and the Congress is always willing to accept any decision of an arbitration court. I have myself ventured to suggest that there might be appointed by the Government a judicial tribunal which would examine this case and give its decision. But, if none of these ways are acceptable and this is to be the *sine qua non* of any Constitution-building, then, I say, it will be much better for us that we should remain without so-called Responsible Government than that we should accept this scheme put forward by Sir Hubert Carr and others.

### NEGATION OF RESPONSIBLE GOVT

I would like to repeat I have said before, that, while the Congress will always accept any solution that may be acceptable to the Hindus, the Musalmans and the Sikhs, it will be no party to special reservation or special electorates for any other Minorities. The Congress will always endorse clauses or reservations as to fundamental rights and civil liberty. It will be open to everybody to be placed on the voter's roll and to appeal to the common body of the electorates. In my humble opinion, the scheme gathered by Sir Hubert Carr is the very negation of responsible Government, the very negation of nationalism. Heaven help India if India have representatives elected by these several special, cut up groups. That European, and that European only, who commands the approval of the common electorate, and not that of the mere Europeans, will serve India as a whole. The scheme dooms the Responsible Government to be always contending against these special interests which will always be in conflict against the national spirit—against this body of 85 per cent of



agricultural population. To me, it is an unthinkable thing. If we are to bring into being Responsible Government and if we are going to get real freedom, then, I venture to suggest, that it should be the proud privilege and the duty of every one of these so-called special classes to seek entry into the Legislatures through the open front door, through the election and approval of the common body of electorates. You know that Congress is wedded to adult suffrage and under adult suffrage it will be open to all to be placed on the voter's list. More than that nobody can ask.

## DO NOT PERPETUATE UNTOUCHABILITY

I can understand the claims advanced by other Minorities, but the claims advanced on behalf of the untouchables, is to me the "unkindest cut of all". It means perpetual bar sinister. I would not sell the vital interests of the untouchables even for the sake of winning the freedom of India. I claim myself, in my own person, to represent the vast mass of the untouchables. Here I speak not merely on behalf of the Congress, but I speak on my own behalf, and I claim that I would get, if there was a referendum of the untouchables, their vote, and that I would top the poll. And I would work from one end of India to the other to tell the untouchables that separate electorates and separate reservation is not the way to remove this bar sinister. Let this Committee and let the whole world know that today there is a body of Hindu reformers who feel that this is a shame, not of the untouchables, but of orthodox Hinduism, and they are, therefore, pledged to remove this blot of untouchability. We do not want on our register and our census untouchables classified as a separate class. Sikhs may

remain as such in perpetuity, so may Moslems, so may Europeans. Would untouchables remain untouchables in perpetuity? I would far rather that Hinduism died than that untouchability lived. Therefore, with all my regard for Dr Ambedkar, and for his desire to see the untouchables uplifted, with all my regard for his ability I must say that here is a great error under which he has laboured and perhaps, the bitter experiences he has undergone have for the moment warped his judgment. It hurts me to have to say this but I would be untrue to the cause of untouchables, which is as dear to me as life, itself, if I did not say it. I will not bargain away their rights for the kingdom of the whole world. I am speaking with a due sense of responsibility when I say it is not a proper claim which is registered by Dr Ambedkar, when he seeks to speak for the whole of the untouchables in India. It will create a division in Hinduism which I cannot possibly look forward to with any satisfaction whatsoever. I do not mind the untouchables being converted to Islam or Christianity. I should tolerate that but I cannot possibly tolerate what is in store for Hinduism if there are these two divisions set up in every village. Those who speak of political rights of untouchables do not know India and do not know how Indian society is today constructed. Therefore, I want to say with all the emphasis that I can command that if I was the only Person to resist this thing I will resist it with my life.

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## SAFEGUARDS AND GUARANTEES.

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### Nation Must Have Complete Responsibility 'First.

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*"The Congress is emphatically of opinion that the obligations to be taken over by the incoming Government should be subject to audit and impartial examination," in these words Mahatma Gandhi, placed the Congress position on Financial Safeguards before the Federal Structure Committee*

*"I am not in a position at the present moment to suggest any safeguards at all—not until I know that the Nation is to have complete responsibility, complete control over her Army and over the Civil Service"*

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Mahatma Gandhi said —

My Lord, I followed your (Lord Reading's) speech on the very important subject of Financial Safeguards with the greatest attention and with all the respect that is undoubtedly your due. In connection with that speech I read the paragraphs on Finance in the Federal Structure Committee's Report of last year, I think they are, paragraphs 18, 19 and 20, and I regret to have to record my opinion that I cannot endorse the restrictions that have been suggested in these paragraphs. My position, and I think, the position of all of us, must be very difficult when we do not know exactly what are the financial burdens

## SCRUTINY OF OBLIGATIONS

Let me explain I would naturally have to consider the thing from one point of view if 'Army' was a reserved subject, and another point of view if 'Army' was a transferred subject I have also very great difficulty in expressing my view of the reason of the fact that the Congress is emphatically of opinion that the obligations to be taken over by the incoming Government should be subject to audit and impartial examination

I have in my hands a report prepared by four impartial men, two of them ex-Advocates-General of the Bombay High Court, I mean Messrs Bahadurji and Bhulabhai Desai. The third examiner, or member of the Committee is Professor Shah, for a long time Professor in the University of Bombay, a man having an all-India reputation and author of valuable works on Indian economics. The fourth member of the Committee is Mr Kumarappa, who holds European degrees and whose opinions on Finance command considerable acceptance and influence. These four gentlemen have submitted an elaborate Report in which they, as I hold, make out a conclusive case for an impartial enquiry, and they show that many of the obligations do not really belong to India.

In this connection, I want very respectfully to say that the Congress has never suggested, as it has been viciously suggested against it, that one single farthing of national obligations should ever be repudiated by the Congress. What the Congress has, however, suggested is that some of the obligations, which are supposed to belong to India, ought not to be saddled upon

India and should be taken over by Great Britain. You will find in these volumes a critical examination of all these obligations. I do not propose to weary this Committee with a recital of these things. Those who would care to study these two volumes may, and I have no doubt will, study them with considerable profit, and they will, perhaps, discover that some of these obligations should never have been saddled upon India. That being the case, I feel that if one knew exactly where one was, it would be possible to give a decisive opinion, but subject to that, I venture to suggest, that the restrictions, or the so-called safeguards, that have been suggested in paragraphs 18, 19 and 20 of this report of the Federal Structure sub-Committee will, instead of helping India on her course, hinder her progress at every step.

### INDIA'S INTERESTS

You, My Lord, were pleased to say that the question before you was not one of want of confidence in Indian Ministers. On the contrary, you had every hope that the Indian Ministers would do as well as any other Minister, but you were concerned with the credit of India outside the borders of India, that the investors who supplied capital to India and who brought their money to India at reasonable rates of interest would not be satisfied if there were not safeguards of the type suggested here, and you went on further, if I remember rightly, to say that when there were any investments in India from here, or when there were any monies sent to India, it was not to be supposed that they were not also for the interest of India.

If I remember rightly, Your Lordship used the words "obviously it was in the interests of India." I was really

waiting to find some illustrations, but no doubt you took it for granted that we would know those matters or those illustrations which you had in mind. I had really converse illustrations in mind while you were speaking, and I said to myself, I have within my own experience several illustrations where I could show that the interests of India were not in those particular illustrations identical with the interests of Great Britain, that the two were in conflict, and that therefore, we could not possibly say that every time there were loans from Great Britain, they were in the interest of India.

Take, for instance so many wars. Take the wars of Afghanistan. As a young man I read with great avidity the history of wars in Afghanistan written by the late Sir John Kay and I have a vivid recollection left on my mind that most of these wars were certainly not in the interests of India and not only that, but that the Governor-General had bungled over these wars. The late Dadabhoi Naoroji taught us, young men, that the history of British Finance in India was a history of muddle and bungling where it was not also one of exploitation of India.

### EXCHANGE RATIO

The Lord Chancellor uttered the warning, and you were pleased to endorse his warning, that Finance, at the present moment, was a very delicate matter and that, therefore, those of us who took part in the discussion should be cautious and careful so as not to mishandle the subject and create difficulties or add to the difficulties that already face the Finance Minister in India. I, therefore, do not propose to go into any details, but, I cannot help saying one thing in connection with this in-

crease in the ratio, I mean when the rupee was appreciated to 1/6 from 1/4. Now, there the measure was adopted in the face of almost unanimous opposition from Indians—Indians who were not in any way connected with the Congress. They were all independent, some of them great experts in finance who knew exactly what they were saying. Here again one finds that the Indian interest was really subordinated to foreign interests. It does not require an expert to know that a depreciated rupee is always, or as a rule, would be in the interest of the cultivators. I was very much struck by an admission made by two financiers here, that if the rupee, instead of being linked to sterling, had been left to itself, at least for the time being, it would have been of great advantage to the cultivators. They were going to the last extreme and thinking of some catastrophe that might befall India if the rupee left to itself went down to the intrinsic value, namely 6d or 7d. Personally, I have not even then been able to see that really the Indian cultivator would be in any shape or form damaged.

That being the case, I cannot possibly endorse safeguards that would interfere with the full discharge of his responsibility by the Indian Finance Minister, and that responsibility conceived predominantly in the interests of the ryots.

## RESOURCES

But I want to draw the attention of this Committee to one thing more. In spite of the caution uttered by the Lord Chancellor and you, My Lord, I feel somehow or other that if Indian Finance was properly managed, entirely in the interests of India, we should not be subject to fluctuations as seriously

as we are today in the foreign market, the fluctuations in London I want to give you my reason for it. When I first became acquainted with the writing of Sir Daniel Hamilton I approached him with considerable diffidence and hesitation, I knew nothing practically of Indian finance, I was absolutely new to the subject but, he with his zeal insisted upon my studying the papers that he continued to send me. As we all know, he has large interests in India, he has himself held offices of importance and is himself an able financier. He is today making experiments himself along the lines he has suggested, but this is the one striking thought that he has placed before all who would care to understand his mode of looking at Indian finance, when he says that India does not need to look to the gold standard or to the silver standard or to any metallic standard, India has metal all its own, and he says that that consists in her innumerable countless million of labours. It is true that the British Government has not declared itself insolvent in connection with Indian Finance, that it has been, up to now, able to pay the way, but at what cost? It has been at the cost of the cultivator, the money has been squeezed from the cultivator. Instead of thinking in terms of rupees, if the authorities had consulted and thought of finance in terms of these masses, they could have managed the affairs of India infinitely better than they have hitherto done, they would not then have been obliged to fall back upon foreign market. Everybody recognises, and British financiers have told us, that for nine years out of ten India has always a favourable balance

That is to say, whenever India has, what may be called, an eight anna or ten anna year, eight annas is really enough to



give her a favourable balance Then India produces through bountiful nature, from Mother Earth, more than enough to pay for all her obligations, and more than for all the imports that she may ever require If it is true, and I hold that it is true, a country like India does not really need to fall back upon the foreign capitalist She has been made to fall back upon the foreign capitalist because of the enormous drain that has taken place from India in order to pay what are called the 'home charges,' in order to pay the terrific charges for India's Defence She is utterly unable to discharge these obligations, and yet, they have been met by a revenue policy which has been condemned in unmeasured terms by one of the officiating Commissioners, the late Ramesh Chandra Dutt I know he engaged himself in a controversy with the late Lord Curzon on this very topic, and we Indians came to the conclusion that the right was on the side of the late Ramesh Chandra Dutt.

But I want to go a step further It is known that these millions of cultivators remain idle for six months in the year If the British Government saw to it that these men would not remain idle for six months in the year, imagine the wealth that they would produce Why should we then need ever to fall back upon the foreign market? That is how the whole idea of finance appears before me, a layman, a man who continually thinks of these masses and wants to feel as they would feel They would say we have all the labour therefore, we do not want to fall back upon any foreign capital So long as we labour, the whole world would want the products of our labour. And it is true, the world today wants the products of our labour We would be able to produce those things that

the world would voluntarily and willingly take from us That has been the condition of India of ages past There, I really do not share the fear that you, My Lord, have expressed in connection with Indian finance In my opinion, unless we have control over our own doorkeepers, and over our own purse, absolutely unrestricted, we shall not be able to shoulder the responsibility, and it will not be responsibility worth the name

### NATURE OF GUARANTEES

I am not in a position at the present moment to suggest any safeguards at all—not until I know that the nation is to have complete responsibility, complete control over her Army, over the Civil Service, that the nation will be at perfect liberty to take over so many of the Civilians as the nation would want, so many of the soldiers as the nation would want and on terms that would be suitable for a poor nation like India Unless I know all these things it is practically impossible for me to suggest the safeguards As a matter of fact, when all these things are taken into consideration, probably, there will be no necessity for any safeguards, unless one starts with a want of confidence in India's ability to shoulder her burden and India's ability to carry on the administration of the country in a peaceful manner The only danger under such circumstances that I can possibly conceive would be that the moment we take charge there would be utter chaos and disorder Now if that is the fear that seizes the British mind, then, there is no meeting ground We take responsibility, we ask for responsibility, we demand responsibility, because, we have got that confidence that we would be able to carry on our affairs in a decent manner and, I feel, certainly in a much better manner

than British administrators have done or could ever do—not because they are not able I will grant that they are much abler than we are, I will grant that they have got an organising capacity which we have to learn at their feet. But we have one thing We know our country, we know our people and we should, therefore, be able to run our Government cheaply We would avoid all the quarrels, and we, not having any imperialistic ambition, would not go to war with Afghans or any other nation, but we would cultivate friendly relations, and they would have nothing to fear from us

That is the kind of ideal that runs through my mind as I conceive Indian Finance You will see, therefore, that in my opinion Indian Finance does not occupy such a large place in my conception, and not such a dangerous position as it evidently occupies in your mind, or the Lord Chancellor's mind or in the minds of British Ministers with whom I had the privilege of discussing this question Hence, and for the reasons that I have explained, I must respectfully say that it is not possible for me to subscribe to the safeguards that are suggested here, or to endorse the fears that agitate the British public or the responsible men in Great Britain.

For every obligation that the National Government undertakes there will be proper guarantees, such guarantees as a nation can possibly give, and assurances of a right type forthcoming But, in my opinion, they will never be of the type or the character described in these paragraphs After all, if there are, and there would be I have no doubt, certain obligations that we would have to take over and we would have to discharge towards Great Britain, supposing that we

## JUST BEFORE LANDING



Mark the happy stewardess and the boy looking  
curiously at M thatmaji

## IN FREE FRANCE



Mahatma landing from the Boat at Marseilles.

bungled and did not do anything whatsoever, no assurance given on paper would be worth anything. Or supposing that India, when she comes into her own, unfortunately for her, has a series of bad seasons, then again, I do not know that any safeguard that might possibly be conceived would be enough to squeeze money out of India. In these critical circumstances—unforeseen circumstances—visitations of nature, it is impossible for any national Government to give guarantees.

I can only close with the great sorrow that has overtaken me in connection with these things that I should find myself in conflict with so many administrators who have experience of Indian affairs and also of so many of my countrymen who are attending this Round Table Conference, but, if I am to discharge my duty as representative of the Congress, even at the risk of incurring displeasure, I must give expression to the views I hold in common with so many members of the Congress.

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## MAHATMA FEARS FRESH COURSE OF SUFFERING.

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“ Children would Dance with Joy when  
Bullets would Fly. ”

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*Mahatma Gandhi in spite of his cold and indisposition made one of the stirring speeches in the Federal Structure Committee on November 25, when he made a frank confession that he was convinced that, from the way the conference proceedings were going on, the Britishers did not mean the transference of power to India*

*“ It hurts me, it pains me all the more that this precious time of the British Ministers and of all these Indians should have been wasted and that nothing tangible will result,” said Mahatma*

*“ The result is, therefore, that nothing is going to come out of this thing, but terrible repression in India I do not mind repression in right time I will consider that as a very fine outcome of this Conference*

*“ Repression has never done harm to a single nation which is sailing for a destined goal with fixed determination, for, repression is really the draught that Mr Lees-Smith administered*

**WILL UNFURL N C O BANNER**

*“ But what I fear is that the slender thread, which I had*

again built up of co-operation with the British nation, with British Ministers, is about to snap and that I should again declare myself a convinced non-co-operator and a civil resister—that I should redeliver this message of non-co-operation, of civil resistance in India, no matter how many aeroplanes will fly over India or how many tanks will be brought to India. They will have no result.

### *EVEN CHILDREN WON'T BE COWED DOWN*

“ You do not know to-day they bring no result—not even upon tender young children. We teach them to dance with joy when bullets are flying about them. They are like so many crackers. We teach them to suffer for the freedom of their country. I do not despair—not so long as the Congress remains untarnished and goes forward throughout the length and breadth of India undiminished ”

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The following is the full text of the speech

My Lord, ( catching the Chancellor's eye )

I tender my congratulations to Professor Lees-Smith for being responsible for this debate, and I tender my congratulations to you, My Lord Chancellor, for having allowed this debate. I think that Professor Lees-Smith has shown amazing optimism in initiating this debate. He has come as a Physician with an oxygen cylinder and he is trying to pump oxygen into a dying body. I do not say that we are a dying body because of this rumour or threat of provincial autonomy divorced from central responsibility. In my own humble manner, almost from



the commencement of these proceedings, I have been uttering words of warning and I said so in so many words that I was oppressed with a sense of unreality which has been dawning upon Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru for the last few days, I happen to know this because he has given me the privilege of taking me into his confidence in common with his other friends and comrades, if I can also bracket myself as one of his comrades

### AN UNREPENTANT SINNER

Out of his ripe experience of administrative affairs, having held high offices in the Government, he has warned us of the danger of Provincial Autonomy so called I am very often an unrepentant sinner He had reasons for issuing this warning especially in connection with me, because I had dared to discuss the question of Provincial Autonomy with so many English friends who are responsible public men in this country, and he had heard of it, and so he gave me ample warning It was for that reason that you find me as one of the co-signatories, not to the document that has been placed before you, My Lord Chancellor, but another similar document that was issued to the press about ten days ago and was addressed to the Prime Minister. I told him, as I say here, that both he and the others who have spoken after him, and I, reached the same goal though through different routes 'Fools walk in where Angels fear to tread' Not having had any experience of administration actually I felt that if the Provincial Autonomy was the Provincial Autonomy of my conception I for one would not mind handling the fruit, feeling the thing, and seeing whether it really answered my purpose I love to meet friends who may be opponents in policy on their own platform and

find out their difficulties, and find out also whether what they are offering is likely to lead one to the same place, and in that spirit and in that sense I ventured to discuss Provincial Autonomy, but I found at once on discussion that what they meant was certainly not the Provincial Autonomy that I meant, and so I told my friends also that I would be quite safe if they left me alone, that I was not going to sell the interests of the country out of a foolish conception of Provincial Autonomy, or out of impatience to get something for the country. What I am anxious to do is, having come all these miles with the greatest diffidence, having come here to tender my whole-hearted co-operation to the Government and to this Conference without the slightest mental reservation, and having applied that spirit of co-operation in thought, word and deed, leave nothing undone, I have not hesitated even to go into the danger zone, and hence, I have dared to talk about and discuss Provincial Autonomy. But I have come to the conclusion that you, or the British Ministers, do not contemplate giving India that measure of Provincial Autonomy which would satisfy a man of my mentality, which would satisfy the Congress, and which would reconcile the Congress to taking up Provincial Autonomy, although there may be delay in getting responsibility at the Centre.

### A CURE FOR TERRORISM

Let me make my meaning clear, because, here too, I am adopting a somewhat different line of argument, and I am most anxious not to be misunderstood. Let me take, therefore, one illustration. I want to take for my illustration Bengal, because it is one of the Provinces today in India which is deeply affected

I know that there is a terrorist school active in Bengal. Everybody ought to realise by this time that I can have no manner of sympathy with that terrorist school in any shape or form. I am as convinced as I have ever been that terrorism is the worst kind of action that any reformer can take up. Terrorism is the very worst thing for India in a special manner, because India is a foreign soil for terrorism to flourish in. I am convinced that those young Indians who are giving their lives for what they consider to be a good cause are simply throwing away their lives, and that they are not bringing the country one inch nearer the goal, which is common, I hope, to us all.

I am convinced of all these things, but, having been convinced of them, supposing that Bengal had Provincial Autonomy today, what would Bengal do? Bengal would set free every one of the detainees, an Autonomous Bengal would not hunt down the terrorists, but would try to reach them and convert them. I should approach them with every confidence and wipe out terrorism from Bengal.

But let me go a little step further, in order to drive home the truth that is in me. If Bengal was autonomous, that autonomy itself would really remove terrorism from Bengal because these terrorists foolishly consider that their action is the shortest cut to freedom, but, having attained that freedom, the terrorism would cease.

Today, there are a thousand young men, some of whom, I would dare swear, have absolutely nothing in common with the school of terrorism, a thousand young men who have not been tried and who have not been convicted, they have all,

every one of them, been arrested on suspicion. So far as Chittagong is concerned, Mr Sen Gupta, who was Lord Mayor of Calcutta, who was a member of the Bengal Legislative Council, and who was also President of the Provincial Congress Committee in Bengal, is here today. He has brought to me a report signed by members of all the parties in Bengal in connection with Chittagong, and it is sad reading. It is painful to read this report but the substance of this report is that there has been an inferior edition of the Black and Tans in Chittagong and Chittagong is not a place of no importance on the map of India.

We now see there has been a flag-showing ceremony, and in making this demonstration all the military forces have been concentrated together in Calcutta, and these demonstrations have gone through ten streets of Calcutta.

### SUFFERING WILL NOT FRIGHTEN TERRORISTS

At whose expense, and what will it do? Will it frighten the terrorists? I promise you it will not. Will it then wean the Congress from Civil Disobedience? It will not do so. The Congress people are pledged to this thing. Suffering is the badge of their tribe. They have determined to go through every form of suffering. It cannot, therefore, frighten them. Our children would laugh at this show, and it is our purpose, to show the children that they must not be terrified, they must not be frightened by this display of artillery, guns, air force and so on.

So that you see what is my conception of Provincial

Autonomy All these things would be impossible, I would not allow a single soldier to enter the Province of Bengal, I would not pay a single farthing for the upkeep of an Army which I may not command In such a Provincial Autonomy, you do not contemplate a state in Bengal whereby I can set free all these detenues and remove from the statute book the Bengal Regulations If it is Provincial Autonomy, then it is independence for Bengal precisely in the same manner as the Responsible Government I have seen growing up in Natal That is a little colony, but it had its own independent existence, it had its own volunteer force and so on You do not contemplate that thing for Bengal or any of these Provinces It will be the Centre still dictating, still ruling, still doing all these things That is not the provincial Autonomy of my conception That was why I said if you present me with that live Provincial Autonomy, I shall be prepared to consider that proposition, but I am also convinced that that autonomy is not coming If that autonomy was coming we would not see all these protracted proceedings that have taken place here, then we would have managed our own affairs in an entirely different manner

### WANTED LIVE PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY

But what really grieves me still more is this we have all been brought here with one single purpose I have been brought here with one single purpose I have been brought here specially through that very pact in which it is written in so many words that I was coming here to discuss and to receive really responsibility at the Centre. Federation with all its responsibility,—safeguards undoubtedly—but safeguards in the interests of India I have said in season and out

of season that I would consider every safeguard that is necessary I personally do not really agree with Professor Lees Smith or any body else that constitution-building should take all these long years—three years. He thinks of Provincial Autonomy in eighteen months. My folly tells me that all this time is not necessary. Where the people have made up their mind, the Parliament has made up its mind, the Ministers have made up their minds and the public opinion here, then these things do not take time. I have seen them not taking time where there has been one mind applied, but I do know that there is not one mind applied but there are many minds, all following their own course and all perhaps with a disruptive tendency. That being so, I feel convinced that, in spite of this debate, not only is there going to be no responsibility at the Centre, but there is going to be no tangible result out of this Conference. It hurts me, it pains me, that all this precious time of British Ministers, of the nation and of all these Indians who have come here, should have been wasted, but I am very much afraid that, in spite of this oxygen cylinder the result will be nil. I do not say that the result is therefore bound to be that Provincial Autonomy will be thrust down our throats.

### EFFECT OF REPRESSION

I do not really fear that result. What I fear is something still more dreadful—that nothing at all is going to come out of this thing but terrible repression in India. I do not mind that repression, repression will only do us good. If we have repression in the right time, I will consider that also as a very fine outcome of this Conference. Repression has never done harm to a single nation which is sailing for her destined goal.

with a fixed determination for that repression is really an oxygen draught, though not the draught that Professor Lees Smith has administered

But what I fear is that the slender thread which I had again built up of co-operation with the British people and with British Ministers is about to snap and that I should again declare myself a convinced non-co-operator and civil resister that I should redeliver this message of non-co-operation and civil resistance to the millions of India, no matter how many air balloons will float over India or how many tanks will be brought to India. They will have no result. You do not know today that they produce no results even upon the tender young children. We teach them to dance with joy when bullets are flying about them like so many crackers. We teach them to suffer for the freedom of their country. I do not despair. I do not think that because nothing happens here there will be chaos in the land, not so long as Congress remains untarnished and nonviolence goes forward throughout the length and breadth of India undiminished. I have been told so often that it is the Congress that is responsible for this terrorism. I take this opportunity of denying that with all the strength at my command. On the contrary, I have evidence to show that it is the Congress creed of non-violence which up to now has kept the forces of terrorism in check. I regret we have not succeeded to the fullest extent, but as time goes on we hope to succeed. It is not as if this terrorism can bring freedom to India. I want freedom precisely of the same type, only fuller than what Mir Jayakar wants. I want full freedom for the masses and I know that terrorism can do no

good to the masses The masses are silent and disarmed They do not know how to kill I do not talk of individual instances but the masses of India have never moved in that direction

## REAL RESPONSIBILITY

Wanting that freedom for the masses I know that this terrorism can do no good whatsoever Whilst on the one hand Congress will fight British authority and its terrorism legalised, so also will Congress fight terrorism, illegal, on the part of youth Between those two there was this course of co-operation opened up for the British nation and for me by Lord Irwin He had built this bridge and I thought I was going to have a safe passage I had a safe passage, I have come here to tender my co-operation But I must confess to you that apart even from what Professor Lees-Smith has said, and apart from what has been said on this side also, by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and by Mr Sastri and the others, the limited responsibility at the Centre, which they have in view, would not satisfy me

I want that responsibility at the Centre that will give me, as you all know, control of the Army and Finance I know I am not going to get that here now, and I know there is not a British man ready for that and, therefore, I know I must go back and yet invite the nation to a course of suffering I have taken part in this debate because I wanted to make my position absolutely clear What I have been saying to friends in private sitting rooms with reference to Provincial Autonomy I have now said openly at this table, and I have told you what I mean



by Provincial Autonomy and what would really satisfy me I close by saying that I sail in the same boat as Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and others, and I feel convinced that real Provincial Autonomy is an impossibility unless there is responsibility at the Centre, or unless you are prepared to so weaken the Centre that the provinces will be able to dictate to the Centre I know that you are not prepared today to do this I know that this Conference does not conceive a weak Centre but a strong one, when this Federal Government is brought into being

A strong Centre governed and administered by an alien authority, and a strong autonomy, are a contradiction in terms Hence, I feel that Provincial Autonomy and Central Responsibility have, really speaking, to go together But, I say again that I have an open mind If somebody will convince me that there is Provincial Autonomy, such as I have conceived for instance for Bengal, available, I would grasp it

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## I LIVE UNDER NO ILLUSION

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**"India is Thirsting for Liberty."**

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**"No Sacrifice Is Too Great For It."**

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*"The Congress represents the spirit of rebellion," declared Mahatma Gandhi, "in what may be," to quote him "the last word on behalf of the Congress", at the Round Table Conference*

*"I live under no illusion I shall strive every nerve to secure a settlement without exposing the millions of India's men, women and children, to the Terrible Ordeal, but if it has got to be faced, I shall do it with joy"*

*Gandhi strongly protested against the manner in which reports of the Conference were recorded putting down Gandhi as only one of the dissentients and warned the British Government as to what the Congress organisation really is*

*"Do not for a moment differentiate me from the organisation of which I am but a drop in the ocean I have no authority save what I derive from the Congress"*

*Concluding, India's spokesman pointedly drew the attention of the British Government to the writing on the wall, to read it and not to be blind to such realities for "there are thousands to-day besides the terrorists who are writing the*

*history of the fight for freedom with their blood, who are sworn not to give themselves peace or the country peace," till they get the bread of liberty.*

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Mahatma Gandhi delivered his speech at the plenary session seated as he explained to the Premier due to his being a physically incapable man. He said.

I do not think that anything that I can say this evening can possibly influence the decision of the Cabinet. Probably the decision has been already taken. Matters of liberty of practically a whole Continent can hardly be decided by mere argumentation, or even negotiation. Negotiation has its purpose and has its play, but only under certain conditions. Without those conditions negotiations are a fruitless task. But I do not want to go into all these matters. I want as far as possible to confine myself within the four corners of the conditions that you, Prime Minister, read to this Conference at its opening meeting. I would, therefore, first of all say a few words in connection with the Reports that have been submitted to this Conference. You will find in these Reports that generally it has been stated that so and so is the opinion of a large majority, some, however, has expressed an opinion to the contrary, and, so on. Parties who have dissented have not been stated. I had heard when I was in India, and I was told when I came here, that no decision or decisions will be taken by the ordinary rule of majority, and I do not want to mention this fact here by way of complaint that the Reports have been so framed as if the proceedings were governed by the test of majority.

But it was necessary for me to mention this fact, because to most of these reports you will find that there is a dissenting opinion, and in most of the cases that dissent unfortunately happens to belong to me. It was not a matter of joy to have to dissent from fellow delegates. But I felt that I could not truly represent the Congress unless I notified that dissent.

There is another thing which I want to bring to the notice of this Conference, namely, what is the meaning of the dissent of the Congress? I said at one of the preliminary meetings of the Federal Structure Committee that the Congress claimed to represent over 85 per cent of the population of India, that is to say the dumb, toiling, semi-starved millions. But I went further that the Congress claimed also, by right of service, to represent even the Princes, if they would pardon my putting forth that claim, and the landed gentry, and the educated class. I wish to repeat that claim and I wish this evening to emphasise that claim.

## CONGRESS REPRESENTS INDIA

All the other Parties at this meeting represent sectional interests. Congress alone claims to represent the whole of India and all interests. It is no communal organisation, it is a determined enemy of communalism in any shape or form. Congress knows no distinction of race, colour or creed, its platform is universal. It may not always have lived up to the creed. I do not know a single human organisation that lives up to its creed. Congress has failed very often to my knowledge. It may have failed more often to the knowledge of its critics. But the worst critic will have to recognise, as it has been recognised, that the Indian National Congress

is a daily growing organisation, that its message penetrates the remotest village of India, that on given occasions the Congress has been able to demonstrate its influence over and among these masses who inhabit its 7,00,000 villages

And yet, here I see that the Congress is treated as one of the Parties I do not mind it, I do not regard it a calamity for the Congress, but I do regard it as a calamity for the purpose of doing the work for which we have gathered together here. I wish I could convince all the British public men, the British Ministers, that the Congress is capable of delivering the goods The Congress is the only all-India wide national organisation, bereft of any communal bias : that it does represent all minorities which have lodged their claim here and which, or the signatories on their behalf, claim—I hold unjustifiably,—to represent 46 per cent of the population of India. The Congress, I say, claims to represent all these minorities

### YOU DISTRUST CONGRESS.

What a great difference it would be today if this claim on behalf of the Congress was recognised I feel that I have to state this claim with some degree of emphasis on behalf of peace, for the sake of achieving the purpose which is common to all of us, to you Englishmen who sit at this Table, and to us the Indian men and women who also sit at this Table. I say so for this reason Congress is a powerful organisation; Congress is an organisation which has been accused of running or desiring to run a parallel Government, and in a way I have endorsed the charge. If you could understand the working of the Congress you would welcome an organisation which could

run a parallel Government and show that it is possible for an organisation, voluntary, without any force at its command, to run the machinery of Government even under adverse circumstances.

But no Although you have invited the Congress you distrust the Congress. Although you have invited the Congress, you reject its claim to represent the whole of India Of course it is possible at this end of the world to dispute that claim, and it is not possible for me to prove this claim but, all the same, if you find me asserting that claim, I do so because a tremendous responsibility rests upon my shoulders

The Congress represents the spirit of rebellion I know that the word "rebellion" must not be whispered at a Conference which has been summoned in order to arrive at an agreed solution of India's troubles through negotiation Speaker after speaker has got up and said that India should achieve her liberty through negotiation, by argument, and that it will be the greatest glory of Great Britain if Great Britain yields to India's demands by argument But the Congress does not hold quite that view The Congress has an alternative which is unpleasant to you.

## THE OLD WAY

I heard several speakers—I have tried to follow every speaker with the utmost attention and with all the respect that I could possibly give to these speakers—saying what a dire calamity it would be if India was fired with the spirit of lawlessness, rebellion, terrorism and so on I do not pretend to have read history, but as a schoolboy I had to pass a paper in history

also, and I read that the page of history is soiled red with the blood of those who have fought for freedom I do not know an instance in which nations have attained their own without having to go through an incredible measure of travail The dagger of the assassin, the poison bowl, the bullet of the rifleman, the spear and all these weapons and methods of destruction have been up to now used by, what I consider, blind lovers of liberty and freedom And the historian has not condemned him I hold no brief for the terrorists Mr Ghuznavi brought in the terrorists and he brought in the Calcutta Corporation I felt hurt when he mentioned an incident that took place at the Calcutta Corporation He forgot to mention that the Mayor of that Corporation made handsome reparation for the error into which he himself was betrayed, and the error into which the Calcutta Corporation was betrayed, through the instrumentality of those members of the Corporation who were Congressmen

I hold no brief for Congressmen who directly or indirectly would encourage terrorism As soon as this incident was brought to the notice of the Congress the Congress set about putting it in order It immediately called upon the Mayor of the Calcutta Corporation to give an account of what was done and the Mayor, the gentleman that he is, immediately admitted his mistake and made all the reparation that it was then legally possible to make I must not detain this Assembly over this incident for any length of time He mentioned also a verse which the children of the forty schools conducted by the Calcutta Corporation are supposed to have recited There were many other mis-statements in that speech which I could

dwell upon, but I have no desire to do so. It is only out of regard for the great Calcutta Corporation, and out of regard for truth, and on behalf of those who are not here to-night to put in their defence, that I mention these two glaring instances. I do not for one moment believe that this was taught in the Calcutta Corporation school with the knowledge of the Calcutta Corporation. I do know that in those terrible days of last year several things were done for which we have regret, for which we have made reparation.

If our boys in Calcutta were taught those verses which Mr Ghuznavi has recited, I am here to tender an apology on their behalf, but I should want it proved that the boys were taught by the school-masters of these schools with the knowledge and encouragement of the Corporation. Charges of this nature have been brought against Congress times without number, and times without number these charges have also been refuted, but I have mentioned these things at this juncture. It is again to show that for the sake of liberty people have fought, people have lost their lives, people have killed and have sought death at the hands of those whom they have sought to oust.

## THE NEW WAY.

The Congress then comes upon the scene and devises a *new method not known to history*, namely, that of civil disobedience, and the Congress has been following up that method. But again, I am up against a stone wall and I am told that that is a method that no Government in the world will tolerate. Well, of course, the Government may not tolerate, no



Government has tolerated, open rebellion. No Government may tolerate civil disobedience, but Governments have to succumb even to these forces, as the British Government has done before now, even as the great Dutch Government after eight years of trial had to yield to the logic of facts. General Smuts, a brave General, a great statesman, and a very hard task-master also, but he himself recoiled with horror from even the contemplation of doing to death innocent men and women who were merely fighting for the preservation of their self-respect. Things which he had vowed he would never yield in the year 1908, reinforced as he was by General Botha, he had to do in year 1914, after having tried these civil resisters through and through. And in India, Lord Chelmsford had to do the same thing: the Governor of Bombay had to do the same thing in Borsad and Bardoli. I suggest to you, Prime Minister, it is too late today to resist this, and it is this thing which weighs me down, this choice that lies before them, the parting of the ways probably. I shall hope against hope, I shall strain every nerve to achieve an honourable settlement for my country, if I can do so without having to put the millions of my countrymen and countrywomen and even children through this ordeal of fire. It can be a matter of no joy and comfort to me to lead them again to a fight of that character, but, if a further ordeal of fire has to be our lot I shall approach that with the greatest joy and with the greatest consolation that I was doing what I felt to be right, the country was doing what it felt to be right, and the country will have the additional satisfaction of knowing that it was not at least taking lives, it was giving lives: it was not making the British people directly suffer, it was suffering. Professor Gilbert Murray told me—I shall never

forget that, I am paraphrasing his inimitable language—‘ Do you not consider for one moment that we Englishmen do not suffer when thousands of your countrymen suffer, that we are so heartless ? ’ I do not think so I do know that you will suffer, but I want you to suffer because I want to touch your hearts, and when your hearts have been touched then will come the psychological moment for negotiation Negotiation there always will be, and if this time I have travelled all these miles in order to enter upon negotiation I thought that your countryman, Lord Irwin, had sufficiently tried us through his ordinances, that he had sufficient evidence that thousands of men and women of India and thousands of children had suffered, and that, ordinance or no ordinance, *lathis* or no *lathis*, nothing would avail to stem the tide that was onrushing and to stem the passions that were rising in the breasts of the men and women of India who were thirsting for liberty

## THE PRICE

Whilst there is yet a little sand left in the glass, I want you to understand what this Congress stands for My life is at your disposal The lives of all the members of the Working Committee, the All-India Congress Committee, are at your disposal But remember that you have at your disposal the lives of all these dumb millions I do not want to sacrifice those lives if I can possibly help it Therefore, please remember, that I will count no sacrifice too great if, by chance, I can pull through an honourable settlement You will find me always having the greatest spirit of compromise if I can but fire you with the spirit that is working in the Congress, namely, that India must have real liberty Call it by any name you

like, a rose will smell as sweet by any other name, but it must be the rose of liberty that I want and not the artificial product. If your mind and the Congress mind, the mind of this Conference and the mind of the British people, means the same thing by the same word, then you will find the amplest room for compromise, and you will find the Congress itself always in a compromising spirit. But so long as there is not that one definition, not one implication for the same word that you and I may be using so long there is no compromise possible. How can there be any compromise so long as we each one of us has a different definition for the same words that we may be using. It is impossible, Prime Minister, I want to suggest to you in all humility that it is utterly impossible then to find a meeting ground, to find a ground where you can apply the spirit of compromise. And I am very grieved to have to say up to now I have not been able to discover a common definition for the terms that we have been exchanging during all these weary weeks.

## OUR GOAL

I was shown last week the Statute of Westminster by a sceptic, and he said, have you seen the definition of Dominion? I read the definition of "Dominion" and naturally I was not at all perplexed or shocked to see that the word "Dominion" was exhaustively defined and it had not a general definition but a particular definition. It simply said the word "Dominion" shall include Australia, South Africa, Canada and so on ending with the Irish Free State. I do not think I noticed Egypt there. Then he said "do you see what your Dominion means?" It did not make any impression upon me. I do not

mind what my Dominion means or what complete independence means In a way I was relieved

I said, I am now relieved from having to quarrel about the word "Dominion", because I am out of it But I want complete independence, and even so, so many Englishmen have said, "Yes, you can have complete independence, but what is the meaning of complete independence?", and again we come to different definitions

One of your great statesmen, was debating with me, and, said, "Honestly I did not know that you meant this by complete independence" He ought to know but he did not know, and I shall tell you what he did not know When I said to him, "I cannot be a partner in an Empire," he said, "Of course, that is logical" I replied "But I want to become that It is not as if I shall be if I am compelled to, but I want to become a partner with Great Britain I want to become a partner with the English people, but I want to enjoy precisely the same liberty that your people enjoy, and I want to seek this partnership not merely for the benefit of India, and not merely for mutual benefit, I want to seek this partnership in order that the great weight that is crushing the world to atoms may be lifted from its shoulders"

This took place ten or twelve days ago Strange as it may appear, I got a note from another Englishman, whom also you know, and whom also you respect Among many things, he writes, "I believe profoundly that the peace and happiness of mankind depend on our friendship" and, as if I would not understand that, he says "your people and mine"

I must read to you what he also says "And of all Indians you are the one that the real Englishman likes and understands "

He does not waste any words on flattery, and I do not think he has intended this last expression to flatter me. It will not flatter me in the slightest degree. There are many things in this note which, if I could share them with you, would perhaps make you understand better the significance of this expression, but let me tell you that when he writes this last sentence he does not mean me personally. I personally signify nothing, and I know I would mean nothing to any single Englishman, but I mean something to some Englishmen because I represent a cause, because I seek to represent a nation, a great organisation which has made itself felt. That is the reason why he says this.

But then, if I could possibly find that working basis, Prime Minister, there is ample room for compromise. It is friendship I crave. My business is not to throw overboard the slave-holder and tyrant. My philosophy forbids me to do so, and today the Congress has accepted that philosophy, not as a creed, as it is to me, but as a policy, because the Congress believes that it is the right and the best thing for India, a nation of 350,000,000, to do

### OUR WEAPON.

A Nation of 350 million people does not need the dagger of the assassin, it does not need the poison bowl, it does not need the sword, the spear or the bullet. It needs simply a will of its own, an ability to say 'no,' and that nation is to-day learning to say 'no'.

But what is it that that nation does? To summarily, or at all, dismiss Englishmen? No Its mission is today to convert Englishmen I do not want to break the bond between England and India, but I do want to transform that bond I want to transform that slavery into complete freedom for my country Call it complete independence or whatever you like, I will not quarrel about that word, and even though my countrymen may dispute with me for having taken some other word I shall be able to bear down that opposition so long as the content of the word that you may suggest to me bears the same meaning Hence, I have times without number to urge upon your attention that the safeguards that have been suggested are completely unsatisfactory They are not in the interests of India

### FINANCIAL CRAMP

Three experts from the Federation of Commerce and Industry have, in their own way, each in his different manner, told out of their expert experiences how utterly impossible it is for any body of responsible Ministers to tackle the problem of administration when 30 per cent of her resources are mortgaged irretrievably Better than I could have shown to you they have shown out of the amplitude of their knowledge what these financial safeguards mean for India They mean the complete cramping of India They have discussed at this table financial safeguards but that includes necessarily the question of Defence and the question of Army Yet while I say that the safeguards are unsatisfactory as they have been presented I have not hesitated to say, and I do not hesitate to repeat that the Congress is pledged to giving safeguards, endorsing safeguards which may be demonstrated to be in the interests of India

At one of the sittings of the Federal Structure Committee I had no hesitation in amplifying the admission and saying that those safeguards must be also of benefit to Great Britain. I do not want safeguards which are merely beneficial to India and prejudicial to the real interests of Great Britain. The fancied interests of India will have to be sacrificed. The fancied interests of Great Britain will have to be sacrificed. The illegitimate interests of India will have to be sacrificed. The illegitimate interests of Great Britain will also have to be sacrificed. Therefore, again I repeat, if we have the same meaning for the same word I will agree with Mr Jayakar, with Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and other distinguished speakers who have spoken at this Conference.

I will agree with them all that we have, after all these labours, reached a substantial measure of agreement, but my despair, my grief, is that I do not read the same words in the same light. The implications of the safeguards of Mr Jayakar, I very much fear, are different from my implications, and the implications of Mr Jayakar and myself are perhaps only different from the implications that Sir Samuel Hoare, for instance, has in mind, I do not know. We have never really come to grips. We have never got down to brass tacks, as you put it, and I am anxious—I have been pining—to come to real grips and to get down to brass tacks all these days and all these nights, and I have felt why are we not coming nearer and nearer together, and why are we wasting our time in eloquence, in oratory, in debating, and in scoring points? Heaven knows, I have no desire to hear my own voice. Heaven knows I have no desire to take part in any debating. I

know that liberty is made of sterner stuff, and I know that the freedom of India is made of much sterner stuff. We have problems that would baffle any statesman. We have problems that other nations have not to tackle. But they do not baffle me, they cannot baffle those who have been brought up in the Indian climate. Those problems are there with us. Just as we have to tackle our bubonic plague, we have to tackle the problem of malaria. We have to tackle, as you have not, the problem of snakes and scorpions, monkeys, tigers and lions. We have to tackle these problems because we have been brought up under them.

### NOT BAFFLED

They do not baffle us. Somehow or other we have survived the ravages of these venomous reptiles and various creatures. So also shall we survive our problem and find a way out of those problems. But today you and we have come together at a Round Table and we want to find a common formula which will work. Please believe me that whilst I abate not a tittle of the claim that I have registered on behalf of the Congress, which I do not propose to repeat here, while I withdraw not one word of the speeches that I had to make at the Federal Structure Committee, I am here to compromise, I am here to consider every formula that British ingenuity can prepare, every formula that the ingenuity of such constitutionalists as Mr Sastri, Dr Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr Jayakar, Mr Jinnah, Sir Muhammad Shafi and a host of others can weave into being.

I will not be baffled. I shall be here as long as I am



required because I do not want to revive civil disobedience. I want to turn the truce that was arrived at Delhi into a permanent settlement. But for heaven's sake give me, a frail man 62 years gone, a little bit of a chance. Find a little corner for him and the organisation that he represents. You distrust that organisation though you may seemingly trust me. Not for one moment differentiate me from the organisation of which I am but a drop in the ocean. I am no greater than the organisation to which I belong. I am infinitely smaller than that organisation, and if you find me a place, if you trust me, I invite you to trust the Congress also. Your trust in me otherwise is a broken reed. I have no authority save what I derive from the Congress. If you will work the Congress for all it is worth, then you will say goodbye to terrorism, then you will not need terrorism. Today you have to fight the school of terrorists which is there with your disciplined and organised terrorism, because you will be blind to the facts or the writing on the wall. Will you not see the writing that these terrorists are writing with their blood? Will you not see that we do not want bread made of wheat, but we want bread of liberty, and without that liberty there are thousands today who are sworn not to give themselves peace or to give the country peace.

I urge you then to read that writing on the wall. I ask you not to try the patience of a people known to be proverbially patient. We speak of the mild Hindu, and the Musalman also by contact good or evil with the Hindu has himself become mild. And that mention of the Musalman brings me to the baffling problem of Minorities. Believe me,

that problem exists here, and I repeat what I used to say in India—I have not forgotten those words—that without the problem of Minorities being solved there is no Swaraj for India, there is no freedom for India. I know that I realise it, and yet I came here in the hope perchance that I might be able to pull through a solution here. But I do not despair of some day or other finding a real and living solution in connection with the Minorities problem. I repeat what I have said elsewhere that so long as the wedge in the shape of foreign rule divides community from community and class from class, there will be no real living solution, there will be no living friendship between these communities. It will be after all and at best a paper solution. But immediately you withdraw that wedge, the domestic ties, the domestic affections, the knowledge of common birth—do you suppose that all these will 'count for nothing'?

Were Hindus and Musalmans and Sikhs always at war with one another when there was no British rule, when there was no English face seen there? We have chapter and verse given to us by Hindu historians and by Musalman historians to say that we were living in comparative peace even then. And Hindus and Musalmans in the villages are not even today quarrelling. In those days they were not known to quarrel at all. The late Maulana Muhammad Ali often used to tell me, and he was himself a bit of an historian. He said "If God"—"Allah" as he called God—"gives me life, I propose to write the history of Musalman rule in India, and then I will show, through documents that British people have preserved, that Aurengzeb was not so vile as he has been painted by the British historian, that the Mogul rule was not

so bad as it has been shown to us in British history, and so on. And so have Hindu historians written. This quarrel is not old, this quarrel is coeval with this acute shame. I dare to say, it is coeval with the British advent, and immediately this relationship, the unfortunate, artificial, unnatural relationship between Great Britain and India is transformed into a natural relationship, when it becomes, if it does become, a voluntary partnership to be given up, to be dissolved at the will of either party, when it becomes that you will find that Hindus, Musalmans, Sikhs, Europeans, Anglo-Indians, Christians, untouchables, will all live together as one man

I do not intend to say much tonight about the Princes, but I should be wronging them and should be wronging the Congress if I did not register my claim, not with Round Table Conference but with the Princes. It is open to the Princes to give their terms on which they will join the Federation. I have appealed to them to make the path easy for those who inhabit the other part of India, and therefore, I can only make these suggestions for their favourable consideration, for their earnest consideration. I think that if they accepted, no matter what they are, but some fundamental rights as the common property of all India, and if they accepted that position and allowed those rights to be tested by the Court, which will be again of their own creation, and if they introduced elements—only elements—of representation on behalf of their subjects, I think that they would have gone a long way to conciliate their subjects. They would have gone a long way to show to the world and to show to the whole of India that they are also fired with a democratic spirit, that they do not want to remain

undiluted autocrats, but that they want to become constitutional monarchs even as King George of Great Britain is

Sir, a note has been placed in my hands by my friend Sir Abdul Quyum. He says "Will you not say one word about the Frontier Province?" I will, and it is this

Let India get what she is entitled to and what she can really take, but whatever she gets, and whenever she gets it, let the Frontier Province get complete autonomy today. That Frontier will then be a standing demonstration to the whole of India, and therefore, the whole vote of the Congress will be given in favour of the Frontier Province getting Provincial Autonomy tomorrow. Prime Minister, if you can possibly get your Cabinet to endorse the proposition that from tomorrow the Frontier Province becomes a full fledged autonomous province I shall then have a proper footing amongst the Frontier tribes and convene them to my assistance when those over the border cast an evil eye on India

## THANKS

Last of all, my last task is a pleasant task for me. This is perhaps the last time that I shall be sitting with you at negotiations. It is not that I want that. I want to sit at the same table with you in your closets and to negotiate and to plead with you and to go down on bended knees before I take the final leap and final plunge

But, whether I have the good fortune to continue to tender my co-operation or not does not depend upon me. It

largely depends upon you. But it may not even deperned upon you. It depends upon so many circumstances over which neither you nor we may have any control whatsoever. Then, let me perform this pleasant task of giving my thanks to all from Their Majesties down to the poorest men in the East End where I have taken up my habitation

In that settlement, which represents the poor people of the East End of London, I have become one of them. They have accepted me as a member, and as a favoured member of their family. It will be one of the richest treasures that I shall carry with me. Here, too, I have found nothing but courtesy and nothing but a genuine affection from all with whom I have come in touch. I have come in touch with so many Englishmen. It has been a priceless privilege to me. They have listened to what must have often appeared to them to be unpleasant, although it was true. Although I have often been obliged to say these things to them they have never shown the slightest impatience or irritation. It is impossible for me to forget these things. No matter what befalls me, no matter what the fortunes may be of this Round Table Conference, one thing I shall certainly carry with me that is, that from high to low I have found nothing but the utmost courtesy and the utmost affection. I consider that it was well worth my paying this visit to England in order to find this human affection. (Applause).

It has enhanced, it has deepened my irrepressible faith in human nature that although Englishmen and Englishwomen have been fed upon lies so often that I see disfiguring your Press, that although in Lancashire the Lancashire people had

perhaps some reason for becoming irritated against me, I found no irritation and no resentment even in the operatives. The operatives, men and women, hugged me. They treated me as one of their own. I shall never forget that.

I am carrying with me thousands upon thousands of English friendships. I do not know them but I read that affection in their eyes as early in the morning I walk through your streets. All this hospitality, all this kindness will never be effaced from my memory, no matter what befalls my unhappy land. I thank you for your forbearance. (Applause)

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### Thanks to Premier.

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In proposing a vote of thanks to the Prime Minister, Mahatma Gandhi said.—

Prime Minister, and friends, the privilege and the responsibility of moving a vote of thanks to the Chair have been entrusted to me, and I have taken up the responsibility and the privilege with the greatest pleasure. A chairman who conducts the proceedings of his meeting in a becoming and courteous manner is always entitled to a vote of thanks, whether those who compose the meeting agree with the decisions taken at the meeting, or with the decisions that may be given by the chairman himself.

Sir, I know that yours was a double duty. You had not only to conduct the proceedings of the Conference with

becoming dignity and with impartiality, but you had often to convey the decisions of His Majesty's Government

And your final act in the Chair has been to convey the considered decision of His Majesty's Government over the many matters on which this Conference has deliberated. I propose to omit that part of your task, but for me the pleasanter part is how you have conducted the proceedings, and let me congratulate you upon the lesson that you have given us so often in time sense. Chairmen often neglect that very elementary duty, and I must confess, in my country almost with tiresome regularity. We are not credited with proper time sense. Prime Minister, it will be my pleasant and bounden duty to give to my countrymen when I return to India what the British Prime Minister has done in the matter of time sense.

The other thing that you have shown us is your amazing industry. Brought up in your hardy Scotch climate, you have not known what rest is, and you have not allowed us also to know what rest is. With, shall I say, almost unexampled ferocity you worked everyone of us, including old men like my friend and revered brother Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, and equally old man like me.

You have worked almost to exhaustion, with a pitilessness worthy of a Scotsman like you, my friends and revered leader Sastri. You let us know yesterday that you know his physical condition but before a sense of duty you set aside all these personal considerations. All honour to you for that and I shall treasure this amazing industry of yours.

But let me say on this matter that although I belong to a climate which is considered to be luxuriant, almost bordering on the equatorial regions, perhaps we might there be able to cross swords with you in industry, but that does not matter. If what you gave us yesterday, is only a foretaste of what you are capable of—working even for a full twentyfour hours as your House of Commons has done at times—well then, of course, you will take the palm.

### AT THE PARTING OF THE WAYS

Therefore I have the greatest pleasure in moving this vote of thanks. But there is an additional reason, and it is perhaps a greater reason, why I should shoulder this responsibility and esteem the privilege that has been given to me. It is somewhat likely—I would say only somewhat likely, because I would like to study your declaration, once, twice, thrice, as often as it may be necessary, scanning every word of it, reading its hidden meaning if there is a hidden meaning in it, crossing all the T's, dotting all the I's and if I then come to the conclusion as just now seems to be likely—that so far as I am concerned we have come to the parting of the ways.

That our ways take different directions, it does not matter to us. You are entitled to my hearty and most sincere vote of thanks. It is not given to us in this society of ours for all to agree in order to respect one another. It is not given to us always to expect meticulous regard for each other's opinions and always to be accommodating so that there is no principle left with you. On the contrary, dignity of human nature requires that we must face the storms of life and sometimes,



even blood brothers have got to go each his own way, but, if at the end of their quarrel—at the end of their differences they can say that they bore no malice and that even so they acted as becomes a gentleman, a soldier—if it will be possible at the end of the chapter for me to say that of myself and of my countrymen, and if it is possible for me to say that of you, Prime Minister, and of your countrymen, I will say that we parted also well. I do not know in what direction my path will lie, but it does not matter to me in what direction that path lies. Even then, although I may have to go in an exactly opposite direction, you are still entitled to a vote of thanks from me from the bottom of my heart.

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## “GOOD VOYAGE HOME AND PROSPEROUS RETURN ”

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### MACDONALD'S FAREWELL SPEECH TO R T C DELEGATES

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The following is the concluding portion of the Premier's speech, in replying to Mahatma's vote of thanks :—

The Premier said that he was much obliged for Mr Gandhi's kind and friendly words and continued that here was only one thing to quarrel with him about, why does he refer to himself in relation to me as an old man? (Laughter).

The Mahatma has got years to his advantage. If was a young man who spoke at twelve last night (Laughter) It was an old man in the Chair. I do not know which of us looks older, but records show that in the ordinary course of nature I am much nearer the end of my time than Mr Gandhi himself and if there is anybody who has got a grievance about the prolonged sitting it is not the young man who spoke. It is the old man who presided, whom you kept out of bed until 2-30 in the morning and then made to get up at 6 a m in order to come here with a prepared statement. That is where the grievance is but ere I have none—not a particle, not a shadow if it has been in the interests of India.

I am so glad my old friend Sir Abdul Qaiyum seconded the resolution. It was a great achievement to get Gandhiji and him together. That is the foretaste of what is going to happen (Applause) when the Muslim and the Hin—

Mahatma Gandhi interjected, "Not Hindu"

The Chirman said Mr Gandhi understands the lapses of the untrained human tongue.

Mahatma Gandhi I forgive it.

The Chairman. He understands the lapses of untrained human tongue such as mine.

—Mussalmans and others (Laughter and applause) together. I am beginning to pick up Mr Gandhi's thoughts because he has always told us that you were sections and he comprehended you all.

Mahatma Gandhi · Of course.

## GRATITUDE TO A SCOTSMAN.

The Chairman. But look at the effect of you two coming together in order to co-operate and express gratitude to a Scotsman. My dear Mahatma, let us go on in this way. It is the best way, you may find it to be the only way. It certainly is the way that will enable both of us to take a great pride in our work and to relate our political action with those glorious spiritual impulses which lie at the source of all our being

The Premier concluded by wishing all very good voyage home and a very happy and prosperous returning “And do remember we are enlisted in the same cause and that we are bound by the same loyalty to India herself Do remember to stand shoulder to shoulder with us in exchange of views and by mutual co-operation and with good luck and good fortune we shall solve the problems that now confront us and see India stand self-governing and self-respecting in the world For the last time I declare that the Conference now adjourns”

At the conclusion of his speech Mr MacDonald raised the Chairman's mallet in tense silence and with a resounding hit upon the table said “For the last time I declare that the Conference now adjourns.”

Silence continued for a few seconds and then the Prime Minister moved towards Gandhi and clasped him by the hand. The two looked straight into each other's eyes, and talked in very low tones—of the future.

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## INDIA SHOWS WORLD WAY TO PEACE.

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### Mahatma's Broadcast Speech To America

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*Ferdinand Kuhn, Special correspondent of the "New York Times" cabling to that paper from London on September 13 says —*

*Mahatma Gandhi made the first radio speech of his life to day, addressing unseen millions of listeners in the United States on the ideals of Nationalist India. Seated before a microphone at Kingsley Hall in the heart of London's crowded East End, the Mahatma told the American people that India alone among the nations of history was fighting a revolution by non-violence*

*"I personally would wait, if need be, for ages rather than seek to obtain the freedom of my country through bloody means," he said quietly. "The world is sick unto death of blood spilling. Perhaps, it will be the privilege of my ancient land of India to show the way out"*

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Mahatmaji said "In my opinion, the Indian Conference bears in its consequences not only upon India but upon the whole world. India is by itself almost a continent. It contains one-fifth of the human race. It represents one of the most ancient civilisations. It has traditions handed down from

tens of thousand of years, some of which, to the astonishment of the world remain intact. No doubt the ravages of time have affected the purity of that civilisation, as they have of many other cultures and many institutions.

If India is to perpetuate the glory of her ancient past, it can do so only when it attains freedom. The reason for the struggle having drawn the attention of the world, I know, does not lie in the fact that we Indians are fighting for our liberty but in the fact that the means adopted by us for attaining that liberty are unique, and, as far as history shows us, have not been adopted by any other people of whom we have any record.

The means adopted are not violence, not bloodshed, not diplomacy as one understands it now-a-days, but they are purely and simply truth and non-violence? No wonder that the attentions of the world is directed toward this attempt to lead a successful bloodless revolution. Hitherto, nations have fought in the manner of the brute. They have wrecked vengeance upon those whom they have considered to be their enemies.

### INDIA REVERSES PROCESS.

We find in searching national anthems adopted by great nations that they contain imprecations upon the so-called enemy. They have vowed destruction and have not hesitated to take the name of God and seek divine assistance for the destruction of the enemy. We in India have reversed the process. We feel that the law that governs brute creation is not the law that should guide the human race. That law is inconsistent with human dignity.

I personally, would wait, if need be, for ages rather than seek to attain the freedom of my country through bloody means. I feel in the inmost recesses of my heart, after a political experience extending over an unbroken period of close upon thirty-five years, that the world is sick unto death of blood-spilling. The world is seeking a way out, and I flatter myself with the belief that perhaps it will be the privilege of the ancient land of India to show that way out to the hungering world.

I have, therefore, no hesitation whatsoever in inviting, all the great nations of the earth to give their hearty co-operation to India in her mighty struggle. It must be a sight worth contemplating and treasuring that millions of people have given themselves to suffering without retaliation in order that they might vindicate the dignity and honour of the nation.

### “ SELF-PURIFICATION ”

I have called that suffering a process of self-purification. It is my certain conviction that no man loses his freedom except through his own weakness. I am painfully conscious of our own weaknesses. We represent in India all the principal religions of the earth, and it is a matter of deep humiliation to confess that we are a house divided against itself, that we Hindus and Mussalmans are flying at one another. It is a matter of still deeper humiliation to me that we Hindus regard several millions of our kith and kin too degraded even for our touch. I refer to the so-called “ untouchables ”.

These are no small weaknesses in a nation struggling to be free. You will find that in this struggle through self-purifica-

tion we have assigned a foremost place to the removal of this curse of "untouchability" and the attainment of unity amongst all the different classes and communities of India representing the different creeds

It is along the same lines that we seek to rid our land of the curse of drink. Happily for us, intoxicating drinks and drugs are confined to comparatively a very small number of people, largely factory hands and the like

Fortunately for us the drink and drug curse is accepted as a curse. It is not considered to be the fashion for men or women to drink or to take intoxicating drugs. All the same, it is an uphill fight that we are fighting in trying to remove this evil from our midst

### WOMEN COMBATING TRAFFIC.

It is a matter of regret, deep regret, for me to have to say that the existing government has made of this evil a source of very large revenue, amounting to nearly twenty-five crores of rupees (about dol 11,250,000). But I am thankful to be able to say that the women of India have risen to the occasion in combating it by peaceful means, that is, by a fervent appeal to those who are given to the drink habit to give it up, and by an equally fervent appeal to the liquor dealers. A great impression has been created upon those who are addicted to these two evil habits

I wish that it were possible for me to say that in this, at least, we were receiving the hearty co-operation of the rulers

If we could only have received the co-operation without any legislation I dare say that we would have achieved this reform and banished intoxicating drink and drugs from our afflicted land

There is a force which has a constructive effect and which has been put forth by the nation during this struggle That is the great care for the semi-starved millions scattered throughout the 7,00,000 villages dotted over a surface 1,900 miles long and 1,500 miles broad It is a painful phenomenon that these simple villagers, through no fault of their own, have nearly six months in the year to idle upon their lands

### ONCE SELF-SUPPORTING

The time was not very long ago when every village was self-sufficient in regard to the two primary human wants, food and clothing Unfortunately for us, the East India Company, by means which I would prefer not to describe, destroyed that supplementary village industry, and the millions of spinners who had become famous through the cunning of their deft fingers for drawing the finest thread such as has never yet been drawn by any modern machinery These village spinners found themselves one fine morning with their noble occupation gone From that day forward, India has become progressively poor

No matter what may be said to the contrary, it is a historical fact that before the advent of the East India Company, these villagers were not idle, and he who wants may see to-day that these villagers are idle It, therefore, requires no great effort or learning to know that these villagers must starve if they cannot work for six months in the year



May I not, then, on behalf of these semi-starved millions, appeal to the conscience of the world to come to the rescue of a people dying for regaining its liberty ?

Mr Gandhi's talk was heard in America over WOR and the National and Columbia broadcasting systems. The reception was mainly clear, with little static interference

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## UNSEEN POWER THAT DEFIES PROOF

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### Sermon On God For Broadcast Record.

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*The "Bombay Chronicle's" Special Staff Correspondent wrote from London on October 20 —*

*When the Columbia Gramophone Company requested Mahatma Gandhi to make a record for them, he pleaded inability to speak on politics, and added that at the age of sixty, he could make only his first and last record which should, if wanted, make his voice heard for all time*

*Confessing his anxiety to speak on spiritual matters, which are of deep and everlasting interest as against purely political matters, which are only of transient interest, Mahatma Gandhi went on*

*"There is an undefinable, mysterious Power that pervades everything I feel it, though I do not see it"*

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*"It is this unseen Power which makes itself felt and that defies all proof because it is so unlike all that I perceive through my senses It transcends the senses because it is possible to reason out the existence of God only to a limited extent*

## A MYSORE STORY.

"Even in ordinary affairs we know that people do not know who rules or why or how. He rules, but that they know that there is a Power that certainly rules.

"In my tour, some years ago, of Mysore, I met many poor villagers and I found, upon inquiry, they did not know who ruled Mysore. They simply said some God ruled it. If the knowledge of people was so limited about their ruler, I, who, am an infinitely lesser being in respect to God than to their ruler, need not be surprised if I do not realise the presence of God, the King of Kings. Nevertheless, I do feel, as the poor villagers felt about Mysore, that there is orderliness in the universe, there is an unalterable law governing everything and every being that exists or lives.

## MATTER IS LIFE.

"It is not a blind law, for no blind law can Govern the conduct of living beings and thanks to the marvellous researches of Sir J C Bose, it can be proved that even matter is life. That law, then, which governs all life is God

"The law and the Law-giver are one. I may not deny the law or the Law-giver, because I know so little about it or Him. Just as my denial or ignorance of the existence of an earthly power, will avail me nothing, even so my denial of God and His law will not liberate me from its operation, whereas an humble and mute acceptance of Divine Authority makes life's journey easier even as the acceptance of earthly rule makes life under it easier. I do perceive that whilst

everything around me is ever-changing and ever-dying, there is underlying all that change, a living power that is changeless, that holds all together, that creates, dissolves and recreates. That informing Power or Spirit is God. And since nothing else that I see merely through the senses can or will persist, He alone is

## BENEVOLENT OR MALEVOLENT ?

“ And is this Power benevolent or malevolent ? I see it as purely benevolent, for I can see that, in the midst of death, life persists, in the midst of untruth, truth persists, in the midst of darkness, light persists. Hence I gather that God is life, truth and light. He is love, He is the Supreme Good.

“ But He is no good who merely satisfies the intellect if He ever does. God, to be God, must rule the heart and transform it. He must express Himself in every smallest act of His votary. This can be done only through a definite realisation more real than the five senses can ever produce. Sense perceptions can be and often are false and deceptive, however real they may appear to us. Where there is realisation outside the senses, it is infallible. It is proved not by extraneous evidence but in the transformed conduct and character of those who have felt the real presence of God within.

## PROPHETS

“ Such testimony is to be found in the experiences of an unbroken line of prophets and sages in all countries and climes. To reject this evidence is to deny oneself. This realisation is preceded by immovable faith. He who would in his own person test the fact of God's presence can do so by living

faith and since faith itself cannot be proved by extraneous evidence the safest course is to believe in the moral government of the world and therefore, in the supremacy of the moral law—the law of truth and love.

“Exercise of faith will be the safest, where there is a clear determination summarily to reject all that is contrary to truth and love.

### PROBLEM OF EVIL.

“I confess that I have no argument to convince through reason. Faith transcends reason. All I can advise is not to attempt the impossible.

“I cannot account for the existence of evil by any rational method. To want to do so is to be co-equal with God. I am, therefore, humble enough to recognise evil as such and I call God long suffering and patient precisely because He permits evil in the world. I know that he has no evil in himself and yet if there be evil he is the author of it and yet untouched by it.

“I know, too, that I shall never know God if I do not wrestle with and against evil, even at the cost of life itself. I am fortified in this belief by my own humble and limited experience. The purer I try to become the nearer to God I feel myself to be. How much more should I be near to Him when my faith is not a mere apology as it is to-day, but has become as immovable as the Himalayas and as white as the snows on their peaks.”

## PROFITS

When the record was ready Mahatma Gandhi could not recognise his own voice but he looked much affected by it. The company congratulated him for his first class, slow, deliberate voice for the broad-cast record.

It is understood a large percentage of the profit on the record will be given to the All-India Spinners' Association as a recognition of Mahatma Gandhi's personal favour to Mr, Raman, the chief promoter of the idea

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## "IN THE NAME OF THE CONGRESS."

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### Demand for India's Independence.

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*Mahatma Gandhi wrote the following article in the Daily Mail, London*

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The Editor has kindly asked me to say in these columns "what I want." The title is a misnomer I am here merely as an agent for the Indian National Congress, and I can want nothing apart from the Congress "What I want", therefore, means what the Indian National Congress wants

Let me then introduce my principal, the Indian National Congress, to the reader It is perhaps the oldest political organisation in India, and claims to represent the whole of India I know that some people would deny this claim I can only say that it is made by right of service

### NATIONAL CONGRESS

The Indian National Congress is over forty-seven years old It was conceived by an Englishman, Allan Octavious Hume It has had, besides Hindus, Mahomedan, Parsi and Christian presidents It had two women presidents, Dr Annie Besant and Mrs Sarojini Naidu It has zemindars, too, as its members

The Indian National Congress is no respecter of persons. It knows no distinction between classes or the sexes. It has always championed untouchables, and has of recent years appointed an anti-untouchability committee for hastening the destruction of untouchability.

But the unchallenged and unchallengeable claim of the Indian National Congress consists in its representing the millions of dumb paupers living in the seven hundred thousand Indian villages who constitute over 85 per cent of the population.

It is in the name of this great organisation that I claim

- (1) Complete Independence for India.
- (2) This does not exclude partnership at will and on terms of absolute equality.
- (3) Nor does this exclude federation or such safeguards as may be demonstrably necessary in the interest of India.

I hope the readers of the "Daily Mail" will not be frightened by the claim boldly put forth on behalf of the Congress 'Do unto others as you would that others should do unto you'. On the strength of the wise saying nineteen hundred years old I hope that Englishmen and Englishwomen will not grant India the freedom which she has remained without by of British rule.

No reason should be necessary for a self-  
Independence is every Nation's birthright

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rk  
ink



It is India's also But it may not be out of place to mention here that the people of India under the British have become progressively poor and emasculate The village industry has been killed and a whole nation has been disarmed Nothing less than complete freedom in every sense of the term can make India happy and strong

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“I AM HERE TO UPHOLD TRUTH AS  
I SEE IT ”

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“I am Neither a Saint nor a Rogue”

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*Mahatma Gandhi wrote the following article in the  
Daily Herald, London —*

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What am I here for? What do I believe in? What is the India I would build? Well, before all else, I am here to uphold the Truth, as I see it, for I believe it is the keystone of life. On it everything else depends. It comes first and last and always.

And in all things it is possible to put Truth first. For myself I have always tried to do it. In my political ambitions I eschew all lies and fraud. For the attainment of no object would I subscribe to deceit.

I have read many varying descriptions of myself. Some call me a Saint. Others call me a rogue. I am neither the one nor the other. All that I aspire to be—and I hope I have in some measure succeeded in being—is an honest, God-fearing man.

But the things I read about myself do not annoy me. Why should they? I have my own philosophy and my work. Every day I spin for a time. While I spin I think. I think

of many things. But always from those thoughts I try to keep out bitterness

Study this spinning wheel of mine It would teach you a great deal more than I can—patience, industry, simplicity This spinning wheel is for India's starving millions the symbol of salvation

### MY "LOIN CLOTH"

My dress, which is described in the newspapers as a loin cloth, is criticised, made fun of I am asked why I wear it Some seem to resent my wearing it.

When Englishmen visit India, do they forsake their European clothing and adopt our Eastern dress, which is much more suitable to the climate? No And there is the answer to those who ask why in England I wear the dress to which I am accustomed, the dress of India

If I came here to live and work as an English citizen, then I should conform to the customs of the country and should wear the dress of an Englishman But I am here on a great and special mission, and my loin cloth, if you choose so to describe it, is the dress of my principals, the people of India Into my keeping a sacred trust has been put A special duty has been given me to perform I must therefore wear the symbol of my mission. I find these different descriptions of me interesting—sometimes amusing. But I am just a representative of my people, endeavouring to fulfil the task they have entrusted to me

Yes, I believe in complete equality for women, and, in the India I seek to build, they would have it. The reason I have so many women co-workers, as I believe, due to my adoption of celibacy and my instinctive sympathy for women

You have probably heard that in my country women occupy a subordinate position. This is only so outwardly. Actually, their influence has ever been of the strongest. For centuries women have worked on an equal footing with men. If they ceased work, then many of the men would starve.

### PLAYTHINGS

In the cultivation of the crops our men and women toil together. Their life is a strenuous one. It is in the leisured classes that the difference in status is more marked. Wealth has enabled women to forget and set aside the virtue of usefulness. Thus there is a tendency for wealthy women to become mere ornaments—play-things.

What I want to see is the opening of all offices, professions, and employments to women, otherwise there can be no real equality. But I most sincerely hope that Woman will retain and exercise her ancient prerogative as the Queen of the Household.

From this position she must never be dethroned. It would, indeed, be a dreary home of which woman was not the centre. I cannot, for instance, imagine a really, happy home in which the wife is a typist and scarcely ever in it. Who would look after the children, the brightest jewels in the poorest household?

## FAMILY FIRST

Cases might be cited in which a clever woman might, by going out into the world to earn her living, make more money and do more for the children, paying some one to look after them. Exceptional women make necessarily exceptional cases. There are exceptions in every phase of life, but we cannot generalise from exceptions.

Generally, it is the father who should be the breadwinner. He will work all the better, knowing that he has a happy home. And it is serious injustice to deprive a child of the tender care which only a mother can give.

It is a woman's work to bring up her little ones and mould their character. A precious work, too. Equality in status with men I desire for all women, but if the mother fails in her sacred trust towards her children, then nothing can atone for the loss.

Whatever the case, family life is the first and greatest thing. Its sanctity must remain. Upon it rests the welfare of the Nation. For good or ill home influence persists. Of that there can be no possible doubt, and no State can survive unless the sacred security of its home life is preserved.

Individuals there may be who in the pursuit of some great principle or ideal forego like myself the solace of family life, choosing instead one of self-sacrifice and celibacy, but for the mass of the people the preservation of home life is essential.

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## "WITH GOD AS MY ONLY GUIDE"

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"There is every chance of my returning  
empty handed"

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*"I must go to London feeling my weakness in its fullness I must go to London with God as my only guide", thus said Mahatma Gandhi in his article in "Young India", written in train on way from Sumla to Bombay before catching the mail boat.*

*"The horizon is as black as it possibly could be. There is every chance of my returning empty handed", this was the characteristic prophecy of the Mahatma*

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Mahatma Gandhi wrote .

"Reynolds as well as other friends have wanted me to take Jawaharlal with me to London at least He is fearless, yet gentle, being a stranger to weakness and weakening diffidence, detects weakness in a flash, having no diplomacy about him, hates diplomatic language and insists upon going straight to the point And as I consider myself to be in advance of him in idealism, he returns the compliment by dismissing my claim I honour him and therefore share the wish energetically expressed by so many friends, that Jawaharlal should be with me to keep me on the straight path and to serve as my dictionary of reference in case of doubt Other friends have wanted others to be by my side even though they may not be delegates

They are so thankful that Malaviyaji and Sarojini Devi will be with me as persons entitled to nomination by reason of their distinguished status apart from their being members of the Congress and their being past presidents. There is weight in every one of the suggestions made by these friends. All the considerations were with the Working Committee, when after a full and prolonged debate it came to the conclusion that there should be sole delegation on behalf of the Congress. I fully share the unanimous view expressed by the members of the Working Committee. But just before the way became clear for me to go to London, and more when the way was opened at 7 p. m. on the 27th, my weakness burst upon me as never before, and I have not got over it even as I dictate these lines in the train taking me to Bombay.

### THE VOICE WITHIN

Something within me told me, that I must not bear the burden of the Simla visit single-handed, but that as the Frontier Province and the United Provinces were storm centres and as Gujarat was the special care of Sardar Vallabhbhai, he, Khan Saheb Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru should be by my side, and that I should take no decision without their full consent and approval, and so in my telegram to the Viceroy, I told him that these three would accompany me to Simla. As I had to pass through Delhi, I telegraphed to Dr. Ansari also, so that I could have half an hour with him. He was not in Delhi but in Mussoorie attending to a patient. My wire was repeated to him there, and he went down post haste to Kalka to meet me since he could not catch me at Delhi, and so he too came along to Simla.

And I can thankfully confess, that the presence of each one of them was most valuable to me, and I can give out the secret, that but for their presence and especially of Jawaharlal's frank and insistent criticism, the second Settlement, though identical in substance, would have taken a form very different from that in which it finally emerged, and I must own, that the form in which it has emerged is far superior to the one to which I alone, in my trustfulness even in official nature, would have subscribed

With that very useful experience in front of me, the reader would be entitled to say, that I must either be too conceited or too dull to see that I must take these very colleagues with me to London even though they may not be with me as co-delegates

But I am not aware of any conceit in me nor of special dullness that would conceal the reality from me. These colleagues, too, still feel, that sole delegation is the proper thing, and that their own place is not in London either as delegates or as counsellors, but at their respective posts of duty in India. Their presence in India, would be a much greater help than what is to be gained by their being available for discussion in London

### FILLED WITH UTTER DESPAIR

I must go to London feeling my weakness in its fulness. I must go to London with God as my only guide. He is a jealous Lord. He will allow no one to share His authority. One has therefore to appear before Him in all one's weakness, empty-handed and in a spirit of full surrender and then He



enables you to stand before a whole world and protects you from all harm. When I think of the prospects in London, when I know that all is not well in India, that the second Settlement is bereft of all grace and is charged with no pleasant memories, there is nothing wanting to fill me with utter despair. The horizon is as black as it possibly could be. There is every chance of my returning empty-handed. That is just the state which realisation of weakness finds one in. But believing as I do, that God has made the way to London clear for me through the second Settlement, I approach the visit with hope, and feel that any result, that comes out of it would be good for the nation, if I do not prove faithless to the mandate given to me by the Congress."

## THE CHARGE SHEET

Writing on the famous charge-sheet and the Government's reply thereto Mahatma says,—

"I am sorry that the Government have published the replies of Provincial Governments to the charges mentioned against them in the charge sheet. In my opinion the categorical denials, if they prove anything, prove the necessity for an enquiry. An accused person does not quash a complainant by a denial of the charge against him, however emphatic his denial may be. He has to prove his innocence before a judge. So far as Congressmen are concerned, the denials from the Provincial Governments simply confirm them in their suspicions. The public, therefore, will hear more of the charge sheet. Mahadev Desai has given his stray impressions. But a rejoinder is in course of preparation, and I have no doubt, that

when it is published, it will be found that the Congress has a good case. If the Provincial Governments are as innocent as they claim to be, why should they shirk an impartial investigation? But according to the second Settlement they refuse to face an enquiry.

## AN ADVICE TO CONGRESS COMMITTEES

The Congress has submitted to the refusal. But it has also made it clear that submission to the refusal need not mean submission to the injustice involved, and if there is a wrong to which, in the opinion of the Congress, it would be against the interest of the nation to submit, the Congress has reserved the right, in spite of the Settlement which contemplates suspension of civil disobedience, to take it up as a measure of self-defence. It is the only alternative to an enquiry when discussion, negotiation and petition fail. Let me hope, however, that even defensive civil disobedience will be found to be unnecessary. I know that Sardar Vallabhbhai and the Working Committee will not lightly permit any such resumption. So far as it is humanly possible, pending the result of the London visit, civil disobedience should be avoided. But it cannot be and must not be avoided at the cost of national self-respect or well-being.

Let Congress Committees and individuals know, that it is not open to them to take up civil disobedience on their own responsibility. Permission of the Working Committee or the President is absolutely necessary."

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## CONGRESS LIVES FOR LABOURER.

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**" Can never allow labour to be exploited. "**

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*The Congress can never allow the labourer to be exploited. In other words, his position must not be worse than before the boycott ( of foreign cloth ). On the contrary, the alliance (with Indian Mill-owners) imposes a greater duty upon the Congress of seeing that the labourer's position is all the better for it. "*

*Thus wrote Mahatma Gandhi in " Young India " supporting and explaining the resolution passed by the Working Committee in August, 1931, with reference to the complaints about the treatment of textile labourers, the growing discontent amongst them as also proposed reduction of wages in some mills.*

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**" The Congress lives for the labourer, and for the capitalists in so far as the latter subserves the former's purpose. Therefore the Congress is in alliance with the mill-owners in the matter of boycott of foreign cloth, only because boycott is calculated to benefit the labourer and the vast mass of consumers in the very near future. The alliance is voluntary and capable of being broken up at the option of either party. It can be and will be broken up when the mills find it profitless. It may and must be broken up by the Congress if it injures**

Khadi, or if it injures or exploits the labourer, or if it exploits the consumer. Khadi may suffer temporary check as perhaps it has. The consumer may, for a year or two, but no longer, pay a protection duty by way of higher prices, not for the higher profit of the shareholders but for the economic working of mills. But the Congress can never allow the labourer to be exploited. In other words, his position must not be worse than before the boycott. On the contrary, the alliance imposes a greater duty upon the Congress of seeing that the labourer's position is all the better for it. The Congress has to ascertain the condition of the labourers of a particular mill before it enters into any contract with it.

### WARNING TO MILLOWNERS

It was because the Working Committee realised this special obligation, that it passed the following resolution at its last meeting —

“The Working Committee draws the attention of owners and managers of mills, especially those recognised by the Congress, to the resolution of the Working Committee dated July 10th 1931, and draws further attention to the fact, that the Working Committee has received complaints about the treatment of textile labourers and the growing discontent amongst them, as also of proposed reduction of wages in some mills

“The Committee hopes, that the owners and managers will remove all causes of discontent. The Working Committee believes that representing, as the Congress does, predominantly, interests of millions of agricultural and industrial workers, any recognition by the Congress of the mills will be

inconsistent with the claim, wherever there is previous justification for such complaints "

## ASSURANCE TO WORKERS

Among the private resolutions referred to the Committee by the A I C C at its last session was one referring to mill workers. It was a drastic resolution. I have before me a list of mills that are said to have threatened a cut in the wages. The Working Committee therefore passed the foregoing mild resolution. It enunciates its policy and duty in the matter. It constitutes an assurance to the labourers, that the Congress will never be party to any injury to labour, and it is a notice to the mill-owners of the Congress policy regarding labour. It must not on any account be treated as a threat of any kind whatsoever. It should be as much the mill-owners' interest as that of the Congress to guard the well-being of labour. The peaceful road to Swaraj lies through a co-ordination, not antagonism, of all national effort. And this co-ordination must move towards one grand consummation—Freedom of Labour, whether on the field or in the factory.

(Here is the resolution of the Working Committee of 7th July referred to above.—

The Working Committee is of opinion that the Textile Mills Exemption Committee should endeavour, wherever possible and necessary, to prevent by amicable arrangement any penalisation or victimisation of labour in the mills which have signed the Congress declaration, and to help in the bettering of labour conditions in these mills.

## GOVERNMENT GOADING CONGRESS TO FIGHT.

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### Bengal Ordinance— A Token of Denial of Swaraj.

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Gandhiji meeting World's Pressmen in the afternoon of December 1, made the following statement —

'It is not so much the Premier's statement or what happened at the Conference that is worrying me as what is happening in India at the present moment. You have an English saying which is appropriate "Coming events cast their shadow before." Well, the situation in India, especially in Bengal is very ugly leaving little room for hope that anything big will come out of the Conference. I refer to the Ordinance just passed in Bengal giving extraordinary powers to Government to deal with what has been called Terrorism and to a certain extent rightly so called. But past experience tells me that Government has become panicky as is its wont when an European life is taken or is attempted at.

I detest such crime but am quite clear in my mind that the powers taken are altogether out of all proportion to the possibilities of the spread of Terrorism. If it is left to me, it shall be dealt with under ordinary law.

I must say that the executive in authority has very wide powers even under ordinary law and after all is said and done if

one were to examine the mere arithmetic of the connection between repression and Terrorism I do not think Bengal would come out the worst.

Then instead of dealing with the root cause, the Government of India, rather the Government of Bengal, assisted by the Government of India and the Secretary of State here have merely dealt with the symptom and not the disease Terrorists, everybody admits, do not resort to terrorism for the sake of it.

Nobody throws away his life without some motive behind and it is, I think, admitted by all that terrorists resort to their method in the hope of thereby securing the freedom of their country If that freedom comes, there surely need be no terrorism, certainly no attempt's on European life or on the life of Officials, whether they are Europeans or others If I had my way, therefore, I would certainly utilise all the ordinary legal powers to put down crime and at the same time find out what the terrorists mean by freedom, and if as a result of my enquiry I found their demands just, I would straightaway concede their demands and there would be no terrorism in the land.

The late C R Das and many other publicmen of his time advised Government to adopt this method but their advice went unheeded or not accepted to the fullest extent But it is never too late to retrace one's steps in a matter of this character and I fear very much that unless full freedom for which the Nation is hungering comes, terrorism will not be rooted out.

The Congress has adopted a method whereby terrorism can entirely be replaced by means of Civil Resistance and all it means, and I am certain that the Congress method has in a very large degree kept Terrorist crime under check. But I make no larger claim for the Congress method just yet. I hope, however, whether Government regains sanity or not, the Congress will pursue its course, and some day effectively stamp out terrorism, but I confess that their process is slow like all methods of conversion.

The relevance, however, of what I have said is that these extraordinary powers of repression with which the Bengal Government armed itself seem to me wholly inconsistent with the desire expressed here to part with power and give India the real freedom she wants. Apart, therefore, from the meaning of the Premier's declaration there is the Ordinance and other things, I know, happening in India which fill me with the greatest misgivings and may leave the Congress no choice in the matter of tendering further co-operation.

How I wish Public opinion here moved in the right direction. I am sure if an honest Indian version of the whole affair came to light as to what is happening in Bengal today, it would, at any rate, not be tolerated."

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## FULL INDEPENDENCE FOR INDIA.

### A Parting Manifesto

The parting manifesto by Mahatma Gandhi, issued by the Commonwealth of India League, reiterates that —

“The Congress demands complete independence, including control of defence forces, external affairs and finance, not excluding equal partnership with Britain determinable at the instance of either party, subject to a discharge or adjustment of mutual obligations

“The Congress will accept safeguards in the interests of India and is willing to take over all the legitimate obligations subject to the examination by an impartial tribunal

“The Congress is committed to a purely national solution of the question of minorities, but will, if necessary, accept the principle of special reservation of seats in the Legislatures for the Moslems and the Sikhs as a necessary evil for historic reasons

“The cause of the ‘untouchables’ will be a special care of the Congress and it would be unjust to treat them separately and thus give ‘untouchability’ a legal status when every attempt is being made to abolish the evil altogether ”

The manifesto concludes by saying that “no political disability will be placed on any one on the ground of race, creed or colour, and the Congress, being wedded to adult franchise, there should be no difficulty in representatives of any minority getting elected to the legislatures on the strength of national service ”

## AN EVENING WITH AN "OLD FRIEND"

## A Three Hours' Interview

*The Editor of the "Spectator," London, publishes the following record of the conversation he had with Mahatma, one evening —*

Mr Gandhi had promised to come round and see me at eight o'clock, but knowing how many engagements he has to fulfil, I expected that he might be late. Within a couple of minutes of the appointed time I heard a motor car drive up and a minute later my parlourmaid opened the door of my sitting-room and announced Mr Gandhi. In flowing white robes, the prophet and leader of Indian Nationalism stood before me. I asked Mr Gandhi whether he would prefer to sit on cushions on the floor, on the sofa or in an armchair, and he chose the last. His flowing robe was a soft Kashmir shawl round him and his bare arms kept coming out during the conversation when he wished to emphasize any point with his capable long-fingered hands. His legs were bare and wore sandals. Occasionally during the talk his feet would get uncovered and he would then wind the folds of garments round his legs to keep himself warm, but he told me so far he has suffered no ill-effects from the British climate.

The first impression, and a lasting one, which Mr Gandhi made on me was that of his "humanness" I felt entirely at home with him and I soon found myself talking to him as to an old friend. The second impression he made on me was that of his "soul force". Here was a man leading a life devoted to the ideals in which he believes with every fibre of his being. Our conversation lasted nearly three hours and it ranged over a very wide area, including religion and Faith, World Co-operation, sex and marriage, the treatment of animals, diet, the works of Ruskin and Tolstoy, and, of course, primarily, the future relations of Great Britain and India. The following represents some of the subjects discussed.

Myself What is your chief impression as regards the British understanding of the Indian problem to day? Do you find that public opinion has changed much?

Mr G Yes, I find a vast change in the attitude of the man in the street, and I have made a special point talking with all sections of British people. I am very happy in London and I have received wonderful signs of affection from your ordinary folk. In the East End I have been greatly touched by the friendliness displayed. People come out of their houses and shake hands with me and wish me well. I was much gratified by the reception I received in Lancashire where the people seemed to me to understand my position and despite the fact that my policy in India was reported to have affected Lancashire so grievously, no grudge was borne me and I found genuine friendship both from operatives and employers alike.

Myself What about the so-called upper and official

classes? Do you think their opinion has changed and are they ready to give India what it wants?

Mr G I fear they still do not understand the position and are not ready to give the freedom that we claim as our right. They think that India is not ready to-day to control her own affairs, and I fear not many of them would be prepared to admit our right to the same freedom that Great Britain possesses, that is, the right to control our armed forces, our finances and our external affairs.

Myself As you know, Mr Gandhi, the "Spectator" has always been a great believer in what is called Dominion Status. We think it has achieved the apparently impossible task of reconciling two apparent opposites, co-operation and independence. Would India be satisfied, do you think, with the same status that South Africa has as a Dominion within the British Commonwealth?

Mr G I regard the status of India as unique. After all we represent a fifth of the human race. I do not think, therefore, that a political status which might suit other Dominions of the British Commonwealth would necessarily suit us. You must remember that India has been a subject nation for a long time. If Great Britain approaches the question of the future relations between our peoples in a spirit of friendship with no reservations, she will not find India behind-hand in coming to meet her proffered hand. We would be quite ready, once our right to independence has been recognized, to enter into an alliance or partnership on equal terms which

would place the relations of Great Britain and India on a satisfactory basis

Myself Once Great Britain stated finally and once for all that the peoples of India have the same right to control their own destiny that we have, do you think that India would still want to employ on terms within India's means, British officials, British soldiers, British technicians, and to draw upon our experience in building up the Indian State of the future ?

### IF DICTATION GOES

Mr G Yes, most certainly Once Great Britain recognizes what we consider our just claims, I certainly would not wish to remove all the British officials in India I want to avail myself of all the experience you have gained I believe that we could make mutually satisfactory arrangements once there is no dictation on your side

Myself Is it true, as some of my more extreme Nationalist friends have said, that India when she wants European advisers would rather turn to Continental Europeans such as Germans, French, Swedes, Dutch, in place of British ?

Mr G I do not think it is true in general We would certainly need advice and guidance from Europe in several things If we could get these from Great Britain on terms that we can afford we would welcome them The only thing that would make us turn away from Great Britain would be if Great Britain refuses to grant what we consider our just demand

If you will play the game with us and recognize our right to control our own defence, we should confer with your experts and ascertain, what is considered the minimum number of British troops necessary for our needs. I would regard the British Commander-in-Chief in India as my technical adviser on military matters, but the British Army in India would, of course, have to be under the Indian National Government

Myself: What about the statement that it would be undignified for British subjects to place themselves in the position of mercenaries to the Indian Government ?

Mr. G. . I have heard the argument, but I cannot appreciate it Behind the objection is the lurking belief that partnership is in name only and that in reality we are to remain a subject nation. Or else how can British soldiers serving a partner nation be considered mercenaries ? But if British soldiers will not serve the National Government, we must do without them

Myself: In terms of selfinterest, therefore, from the British standpoint, you think that a friendly India in close alliance and partnership with Great Britain would be an asset to us ?

Mr G . You should be the best judges In my opinion the solution of the Indian problem in a manner satisfactory to Indian aspirations would largely help Great Britain to solve her own economic question It would be good for Great Britain, India, and the world if Great Britain enters into a freewill partnership with India · that is to say, a partnership of equals, she will have a friendly nation to trade with and all the boy-

cotting of British trade would naturally cease, apart, of course, from cloth. I fear Lancashire cannot get much help as we are determined to make our own cloth, but there are many other goods required which we shall have to import from abroad. For instance, I think India imports eighteen crores of sugar and seven crores of hardware, and so on.

We shall certainly not be able to manufacture all our own requirements for a long time to come.

Myself. Then, Mr. Gandhi, I understand you to mean that you want India's right to control her own destiny recognized now once for all. If this were done, you think that the whole atmosphere would change and that Great Britain would then find the India that you represent only too ready to work out details of co-operation? Rather than that the Round Table Conference should fail. You think that the principle of India's complete control of her destiny should be acknowledged and that such problems as the communal question should be left over to arbitration?

Mr. G. Yes, that is so. I think that once the British Government proclaimed to the world that India had as much right to freedom as Great Britain, we should be quite ready to accept the principle of arbitration on the difficult communal question. I do not think, however, that all the time which has been spent at the Round Table will be found to have been wasted. Believe me, Congress is not obstructive.

Sir Geoffrey Corbett's scheme has emerged from it. Sir Herbert Carr's scheme, which practically gives to the Muslims what they want in the Lower Chamber and to the

Sikhs what they want in the Upper Chamber, also deserves very careful consideration. But, as I have said I think much the best method would perhaps be to leave the question of the adjustment of seats and separate or joint electorates to an impartial judicial tribunal which would only be called into being in the case of non-settlement.

## THE "UNTOUCHABLE" PROBLEM

Myself. What about the "untouchables"? I know it is thought in some quarters, that they ought to have separate electorates and that you are not qualified to speak for them.

Mr G. I am glad you have dealt with this subject. I do not hesitate to say that if the "untouchables" in all parts of India would record their votes I should be their representative. Dr Ambedkar is undoubtedly clever and enthusiastic. He has every reason to be bitter. I have spent the best part of my life in championing their cause. I have mixed with them east, west, north and south in India. I have many of them in my own Ashram. I adopted an "untouchable" girl. Many Congressmen think as I do and realize how serious is the "untouchable" problem.

In the interests of the 'untouchables' themselves I think it would be fatal for them to have a special electorate or to have reservation of seats. If this were attempted, it would create opposition to them. I think their interests would be best safeguarded by their coming "through the open door" to let them have the same voting rights as the ordinary Hindu. They will find that the leaders of Indian opinion are determined to improve their social status and give them the right to



enter into temples and are ready to remove those other terrible disabilities under which they have suffered in the past

Myself Readers of Miss Mayo's book have never been able to understand the Indian treatment of animals They know that the Hindu thinks it is wrong to take life, but they cannot understand a system which allows wretched animals in a diseased condition to be left to die on the roadside and not put out of their misery. What have you got to say on that subject ?

Mr G. You have dealt with one of the problems which reformers in India hope to rectify in time In my Ashram, we had a dying calf. He had stinking sores and was lame I put an end to his earthly existence by painless injections I was bitterly attacked by some of my fellow-countrymen, who in my view have yet to learn that Ahimsa never meant that suffering which could be terminated should be permitted I think that much of the animal suffering in India to-day is due to this travesty of what Ahimsa meant.

Myself To move on to another subject, I would be interested to know something of your religious beliefs Have you ever had religious doubts and when did you first firmly believe in God and since then have you ever been through dark nights of the soul ?

Mr G. When I was quite young I did go through a period of complete disbelief, I was an atheist in fact This was when I was about fourteen Since then, however, I have always believed in God.

Myself Do you then believe in the personal immortality of the soul ?

Mr G. Yes, I believe in the immortality of the soul I would like to give you the analogy of ocean. The ocean is composed of drops of water each drop is an entity and yet it is part of the whole, "the one and the many" In this ocean of life we are all little

My doctrine means that I must identify myself with life, with everything that lives, that I must share the majesty of life in the presence of God The sum total of this life is God

Myself Did any book ever affect you supremely and was there any turning point in your life ?

Mr G Yes, the book that affected me more than any other was *Unto This Last*, by Ruskin I was living in South Africa then It was the reading of *Unto This Last* on a railway journey to Durban in 1904 when I was thirtyfive, that made me decide to change my whole outward life There is no other word for it, Ruskin's words captivated me I read the book in one go and lay awake all the following night and I there and then decided to change my whole plan of life Tolstoy I had read much earlier He affected the inner being

Myself You were a fairly successful lawyer then, weren't you Mr Gandhi ? Did your conversion mean then that you came to the conclusion it was wrong to enjoy the good things of this life ? What income were you making then ?

Mr G. . As far as I recollect, I was making something like £3,000 a year by my legal practice. My "conversion," as you call it, told me that in future I would dedicate all my earnings to causes that I felt were for the benefit of my fellows, that in the future I would live simply and by physical labour, and imperfectly as I have tried to carry out that aim, I know that it is only by living thus that one achieves complete peace of mind.

Myself I have been very much struck with your wonderful vitality. Few men of sixty-two can be so full of energy. I have read in the papers some of the things about your diet. Would you tell me just what your daily bill of fare is?

Mr. G. . Certainly. I am sure that most people eat much, too much. I have never felt better than I do on my present *regime* and I have a horror of drugs and medicines. This is my daily bill of fare. For my breakfast at eight o'clock I have sixteen ounces of goat's milk and four oranges, for my luncheon at one o'clock I again have sixteen ounces of milk, grapes, pears or other fruits. My evening meal is between five and six o'clock. I eat a teaspoonful of almond paste, twenty or thirty dates, several tomatoes and a lettuce or other salad. This avoids indigestion. As you will note, I eat no starch and no cereals.

Myself: To sum up, Mr Gandhi, if the Conference breaks down, do you think the people of India will be satisfied with partial Home Rule, with the possibility of a further conference in ten or twenty years when the British Parliament

considers that India is in a position to control her own destiny ?

### A FINAL WORD

Mr G I am sure you know what my answer will be I have tried while I have been in England not to say anything provocative but those of us who are giving our lives to India will never be satisfied with half-measures If the people of India after this Conference become convinced that Great Britain is not genuine in her desire to give them immediate self-government all the forces at their disposal will be used

Myself What is your final word to the readers of the *Spectator* ?

Mr G My final word to your readers is that they should use all the influence at their disposal to get their friends to see our point of view, that they should work for the great cause of a real partnership between our countries on a basis of equality I think that a free association of our two nations or groups of nations, can be utilised for the solving of many world problems, not merely for the good of the greatest number, but for the good of all

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## INDIA'S NEXT STEP.

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"People are only awaiting the Signal."

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*Mr. A. Fenner Brockway publishes in the "New Leader" the following record of his conversation with Mahatma Gandhi—*

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Outside a gang of workmen are repairing the road, and the noise is like that of a quick-firing machine-gun—deafening and distracting. In this room Mr Gandhi sits, quietly and calmly, on a rug on the floor, in front of a deep, open fireplace, busy at his compact little spinning-wheel, as though there were no such things as noise and nerves.

It is a curious setting for an Indian scene. The room is mid-Victorian, with heavy, upholstered chairs and old English ornaments. I sit deep and comfortable as I talk, whilst Mr Gandhi turns the little handle of his wheel with one hand and holds a roll of raw cotton in the other, skilfully guiding it round a revolving needle. Now and again, the thread breaks, and he stops to repair it. Only occasionally does he look up to interpret the spirit of my words by a glance at my face, or to express the feeling of his own words in the expression of his eyes or a movement of his features.

### REVIVAL OF TROUBLE.

The Round Table Conference is crumbling, but natur-

ally Mr Gandhi cannot express his views upon it for publication yet I don't want to embarrass him, so I put this question tentatively.

"Is it possible for you to speak about what developments are likely in India if the Conference breaks down?"

"Not in detail," he replies "As I sense the future now, there will be a revival of trouble in its intensest form"

"But do you think you will be able to renew the psychology of resistance? When a movement is called off, is it not always more difficult to renew it?"

Mr. Gandhi does not hesitate.

"I have no doubt whatever about it I have never found it difficult to renew a movement which I have called off But I must feel the strength within

"My friends were nervous when we finished at Bardoli in 1922, and then renewed the struggle in 1931. But it was just the right time. And the suspension proved to be good During the intervening years we were not idle The people were imbibing our ideas. Our constructive work went on and it told. The masses assimilated the meaning and spirit of the movement and there was a very wonderful response"

## AWAITING THE SIGNAL

"I see that Jawaharlal Nehru (last year's Congress Chairman) is saying that it is difficult to keep back the people now."

"That is all to the good I can say in the plainest possible manner that I should not like to start the struggle if there were no spontaneous feeling among the people But even at this distance I am conscious that the people are absolutely ready They are only awaiting the signal "

"Is that the case with the peasants as well as with population in the towns ? "

"Yes, I have to depend more and more on the peasants "

"Do they take part in the movement principally from economic or political motives ? "

"Their economic difficulties have given them a grasp of the political situation They understand that their economic position will not be better until the present political system is destroyed root and branch The Government in India has become the protector of the rich There seems to be a conspiracy of the rich behind the Government to get every pice they can from the poor The position of the peasants cannot be improved until the cruel burden of taxation which they have to bear is removed "

### NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE ?

"In the struggle at the beginning of this year, South India seemed to be weak Do you think you can count on South India this time ? "

"South India gave its share steadily in the last struggle and was coming forward splendidly when the civil disobedience campaign was suspended It will come forward again

when the struggle is renewed South India is like that It moves more slowly, but it is sound I did not lose faith in the south before In the making of Khaddar (homespun cloth) the South has done the best, and its work among the Untouchables has been solid But I cannot say which Province will be best this time I have faith in all the Provinces "

"Have you any fear that the impatience in India may prevent you from maintaining the movement on non-violent lines ? "

"No, I think not If the people continue to respond and the mass character of the movement is maintained, violence will play no part "

### COMMUNAL CLAIMS

Then still more carefully I approach the question of the Moslems "I don't want to embarrass you but I cannot escape the conviction that some of the Moslems at the Round Table Conference have been more concerned about their communal claims than about Indian self-government "

"I would not say that I would say that their predominant concern is the guarding of what they consider to be the rights of Islam in India That certainly occupies a very important place in their minds But one has to say the same of the communal claims of the three sections—the Hindus, the Moslems and the Sikhs "

"Do you regard the communal representatives at the Conference as in fact representative, or would you say that the larger part of their communities are behind the Congress? "



"Undoubtedly, they are behind the Congress. Otherwise, Congress could not do its work. We have had the hearty support of both Sikhs and Moslems. There are five Moslems on the Congress Working Committee. And they are not non-entities. They are really representative Moslem leaders."

I want to get at the facts of this matter, so I press it further. "Would you say that the National Moslem Party (which supports Congress) is more representative than most of the Moslem 'leaders' at the Conference?"

"Certainly. That is what Dr Ansari, who is on our Working Committee, is always claiming. It may not be so true, perhaps, as Dr Ansari thinks, but it is becoming truer day by day. There is no doubt whatever that it is true of the younger generation, which is turning from sectarianism."

### REVOLT AGAINST RELIGION?

"Is this tendency in the younger generation a revolt against sectarianism only, or is it a revolt against religion itself?"

"It is difficult to say." I am not able to say that they are agnostics and atheists. I can only say that they have developed the spirit of toleration. Whether that signifies a less appreciation of Islam and a waning of the religious instinct, I do not know."

'If the Round Table Conference breaks down on the issue of responsible government at the Centre, do you think there will be a repetition of the united opposition which was given to the Simon Commission?'

"Yes, I think so The Liberals and Moderates will not join the direct action movement, but their opinions will be entirely on the Congress side "

### WE CAN WAIT

"Do you see any possibility of agreement with the British Government on the basis of self-government in the Provinces?"

"No, I suggested a formula, but the British Government would not accept it There might be a possibility of agreement if the Provinces were given real control immediately and if an absolute guarantee were given of early central responsibility I would accept an interval in point of time, but not in legislation The same legislation must deal with the two things Indian Nationalists will not look at Provincial autonomy without the certainty of central responsibility They say they have waited a long time for complete independence, and they can wait a little longer rather than accept a compromise which withholds central responsibility "

"What is your view of Mr Brailsford's suggestion of complete Provincial Autonomy, with provision for a national constituent assembly to settle the issue of the form of central government ? "

"Only a guarantee of responsible government under Statutory provision would do We must have responsible government "

And so out again to the crowded noisy streets, wondering what the future relations of Britain and India will bring !

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# ' CLEAR OUT THE WHITE GARRISON.

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" I do not expect anything from this conference. "

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*Mr H. N Brailsford publishes in " Reynold's Weekly "*  
*the following notes of his talk with Mahatma Gandhi. —*

In a narrow, empty, white washed room, about the size of a prison cell, in the Settlement at Bow, the familiar little figure of Mr Gandhi was squatting on the floor. He surprised me by his ease and animation as he talked. When he speaks in public his manner is deliberate and painfully slow. He speaks without a change of tone, as if he were dictating. In private this solemnity vanishes. He laughs and jokes so humanly that one forgets that he is a saint and the leader of a hundred million Indians.

Our talk began by my introducing to him an artist friend of mine who was eager to paint peasant life in India. I spoke of the superb subjects I had seen in his own country, Gujarat.

Mr Gandhi. If she wants to draw typical peasants she should not go to Gujarat. Gujarat is relatively prosperous. She should go to Orissa. There the peasants are nothing but skin and bone. Even the bullocks are mere skeletons. You can see their ribs. She must certainly go to Orissa. An artist can help by showing the world how these peasants live

The Artist    How long will it be before you can raise them into a really fine race? Isn't malaria a great obstacle?

Mr Gandhi    Malaria is quite easy to eradicate. It's all a matter of diet. It can be cured with plenty of milk and fruit.

The Artist    I suppose you will have to educate them to this diet?

### POVERTY, THE DIFFICULTY

Mr Gandhi    It's not education they require. They know perfectly well what they need. It's poverty that's the difficulty. We can grow the fruit in India, yet the peasants never eat it. You can't grow it in England, yet your poor have it to eat. The people here in the slums round about live as well as the middle class in India.

When I think of the poverty in which the peasants live I feel ashamed that I have fruit to eat and fruit juice to drink. We can do nothing so long as we have this octopus bleeding us white, draining us and taxing us all the time.

(He grows more animated and raises his voice, pointing to a little bottle containing salt on the floor in front of him.)

Why, they even tax our salt—a necessity of life, only less necessary than air and water. It ought to be free as they are. I know you pay a rate for water in England. But this salt tax is worse than a rate. It's a monopoly. The idea of a thing so natural and necessary—after air and water the one thing necessary,—the idea of it being taxed.

Nature bestows it on us and we may not use it There's the salt (taking up the little bottle) beside the sea and they forbid us to gather it

Myself When you abolish the salt tax what substitute will you propose to fill the hole in the revenue?

Mr Gandhi Salt is a small matter. What really matters is the excise on toddy and opium That is really a big proportion of the revenue

There's no way of filling that gap, unless we can cut down the cost of the army That is the octopus that is strangling us This terrible drain must come to an end

Myself That, I imagine, will be the chief issue at the Round-table Conference

Mr Gandhi Indeed it will, we can't shirk it

## THE WHITE GARRISON

The Artist . Do you intend, then to clear out the white garrison?

Mr Gandhi . Certainly, I intend to clear it out.

The Artist . Do you include the civilians with the troops?

Mr Gandhi . They are part of the burden we have to carry, they make Government too costly There is no justification for the great salaries they draw They live far better than the same class at home.

Myself : Isn't there something to be said for the usual explanation of these high salaries? These civilians are living in exile and in a very trying climate.

Mr Gandhi That is no longer so Better communications have changed all that There is a mail twice a week, they can keep in touch with their families at home, and they go to the hills in the hot weather We would welcome them if they would live among us like Indians But they isolate themselves They shut themselves up in their cantonments The very name has a military flavour, and, indeed, these cantonments are still under military law Any house within them may be seized if the military say they require it That happened to a mutual friend of ours, though he had built the house for himself

## CONTROL OF THE ARMY

Myself. There are two distinct questions about the army, or rather there's one question with two branches There's the question of principle, India's control over the army, and there's the economic question, which would be satisfied by the reduction of the army Must you insist on both?

Mr. Gandhi I must see to it that I have control over my army

Myself. A nation is not fully a nation unless she has it

Mr Gandhi They tell me that I must have this army to protect me against the Pathans I don't want its protection  
 17 I want to be free to take my own course I may decide to fight them I may decide to conciliate them But I want to be free to do it myself We would agree for a time to maintain some of the white army in India, but they tell us that

Tommies can't be transferred to the control of an Indian Government

Myself They can't be transferred without their consent (Mr Gandhi nods assent) I should think that many of them would agree to re-enlist, under satisfactory conditions, in an Indian army

Mr Gandhi (cheerfully) Yes, that might be the solution, but when the army is reduced I'm afraid that will add to the number of your unemployed

Myself Would you, then, if the principle of India's control were granted, be willing to negotiate over the numbers and cost of the reduced white garrison which you would be willing to maintain for a term of years?

Mr Gandhi. Yes, we will agree to anything of that kind, if it is in the interest of India

Myself Well, I think that would be rather to our interest than yours

Mr. Gandhi (laughing). All the same, we would agree to that

Myself It's the principle of control that makes the difficulty I don't think you'll get that Reduction is another matter; in some degree you'll get that We are going into the Disarmament Conference presently, this might be part of our contribution to world disarmament

Mr Gandhi I've said what I want My terms are known

But they are all holding back, as if they were afraid to say what they'll grant But I'm quite prepared to wait

Myself Things are bound to move slowly while we are absorbed in our economic crisis That may be an advantage, however A wise statesman could make a reasonable settlement without the fear of popular clamour

### "THE BRIGHTEST JEWEL"

Mr Gandhi What has astonished me is the friendliness of the workers whom I have been meeting here in Bow

The Artist It's the middle class that is hostile

Mr Gandhi I'll get at them through the workers The real difficulty is that they have no conception what India is suffering They sincerely believe that India is the brightest jewel in the British crown They are honestly proud of the record of British rule It never enters their mind that there can be any thing amiss

The Artist I'm only an outsider, but isn't there another difficulty Are not the Indian Princes the worst obstacle in your path?

Mr Gandhi A Prince is in the same position as a British officer, he has to obey

Myself Then can you leave the Princes under the control of the Viceroy?

Mr Gandhi We must get control for the Indian Government.



Myself. But don't they prefer to be under the Viceroy ?

Mr Gandhi — Ask any of them, and they'll say so. But deep down in their heart of hearts is it possible that they can be content ? After all they're the same colour as we are. They are Indians.

Myself. But they gain something under the present arrangement which you could never allow. The bureaucracy exacts politeness from them, and political correctitude, but it allows them to treat their subjects pretty much as they please.

Mr Gandhi. "Politeness" isn't the word for it. Say rather "abject submission." Not one of them can call his soul his own. The Nizam may start some project or other. An angry letter from the Viceroy is enough to stop him. You know what happened in Lord Reading's time.

### BRITAIN'S PRESTIGE

Myself. Apart from this question of control, is there any hope of legislation on behalf of your "half-starved millions" if the Princes are to nominate 40 per cent of the membership of the Federal Legislature ?

Mr Gandhi. We can deal them as we have dealt with you. It will be much easier.

Myself. I think their reply would be rather more brutal than ours. We used the lathi. They would use the rifle.

Mr Gandhi. That's your race pride. That's right. I like you for it. All of us ought to have it. But you don't.

realise how much British power in India rests on prestige  
Indians are hypnotised by it

You are a brave race, and your reputation enables you to overawe us I've seen the same thing in South Africa The Zulus are a fighting race, and yet a Zulu will tremble at the sight of a revolver, even if it isn't loaded If we get into conflict with the Princes, they won't have the advantage of your prestige

If our people have to face Maharatta troops, they will say to themselves, " We are Maharattas, too "

Talking of South Africa gives me a precedent for the change that we want to bring about in our relations with the Princes Swaziland used to be under the control of Downing Street, but when the Union was formed control was transferred to it

In the same way we argue that the Princes ought to be transferred to the control of an Indian Government

### NO USE FOR COTTON

The Artist Will you have any use for British goods when India is free?

Mr Gandhi Yes, we shall still want what you export with one exception We shall want everything except cotton goods Those we must make ourselves

Myself A considerable part of our exports consist of machinery Will you have use for that?

Mr Gandhi Certainly Why I use machinery myself for making soap and I imported it from England It is only the devoted few who can live the simple life without machinery. The masses will never do without it. All the same, it is possible to do without it (Kindling into enthusiasm).

Most of the things that we were taught to consider necessary are not necessary at all Take soap, now I've used one cake of soap for three months, and it isn't nearly finished yet. It is not really necessary to keep the body nice, though I used the thing so myself, and used it lavishly when I was a young man.

Civilisation, a cultured life with a place in it for literature and the arts, is possible without the artificial wants that machinery has created. But I don't deceive myself, I know that the masses will never lead such a life It is for the few.

## POWER OF THE BOYCOTT

It's amazing how these absurd artificial wants swell the volume of trade I've learnt that from the boycott Who would have thought that toys and Chinese fireworks mattered?

Yet you export vast quantities of such things into India. We have learned in these months the tremendous power of the boycott. Indeed, we are only just beginning to realise it fully now

When I started it I was thinking only of cloth, but all manner of little trades are involved as well, even perfumes.

I'm sorry for all the little people who were hurt by it, though I don't care so much about the big combines in Lancashire

Myself Yes the boycott had a great effect If you go back in memory only two years the change in the British attitude towards Indian self-government seems almost incredible

Mr Gandhi Yes, you have advanced But you are not yet ready to give us freedom It won't be this time India will have to wait some months longer I don't expect anything from this Conference I came because I gave Lord Irwin my promise to attend it and discuss everything

Mr Gandhi's hostess at this point came in and reminded him that several Indian callers were waiting to see him

The Artist You don't suppose we'll go till you send us away

Mr Gandhi (laughing) Just now I agree with your General Dyer You remember his great saying that the life of one Englishman was worth a thousand Indians I have always admired his outspokenness Well, for me just now one Englishman is worth a thousand Indians

We thank him and take our leave

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## WOMEN AS VOTERS.

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### Gandhiji's Vision of New India.

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*"I could construct for the edification of mankind a parliament of a thousand women carrying on debates without any difficulty and without any men," assured Mahatma Gandhi to a representative of the "Manchester Guardian", in a conversation referring to the part he (Mahatmaji) expected our women to play in the future political life of India.*

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To be allowed a very few minutes' talk with Mr Gandhi and to begin that conversation by asking him what part he expects Indian women to play in the future political life of their country might seem absurd, and yet it was worthwhile.

It was, perhaps, partly the Mahatma's own fault, for as he sat on a rug before the fire spinning his cotton thread he had an air of such serenity that one felt, reasonably enough, that he was not much concerned about the passing of time. 'Certainly you may sit on the floor if you choose,' he said amiably, so one sat on the floor close to the ceaseless busy fingers

Dealing first of all with women as voters in the new India, Mr Gandhi said that at present they were enfranchised on the same terms as men, but that as the proportion of women who possessed the necessary electoral qualifications—property, educational, and so on—was small, the women

WITH THE COMEDIAN.



The world-renowned Screen hero Charlie Chaplin enjoying  
a joke with Mahatmaji when they met in London

MAHATMA VISITS CANTERBURY



Dr. Johnson and Gandhi in the grounds of the Dearey

voters were a small minority of the electorate. He looked forward to adult suffrage putting them on real equality with men.

When asked whether there would be found among Indian women the dislike that many conventionally minded women in other parts of the Empire had shown to going to the poll in the early days of their enfranchisement, Mr. Gandhi seemed surprised to hear that such a feeling had existed. He could not understand the attitude of the elderly woman in the Antipodes who went to the poll because she considered it a duty, but went with tears in her eyes.

### SENSE OF DUTY

"The Indian women," he said, "will not feel the slightest opposition to the act of voting. They have not developed that particular type of self-consciousness. Many Indian women, no doubt, will be indifferent to the vote at first, not realising it as a duty. If they did realise it nothing would stop them exercising it."

"If anyone tried to prohibit the Indian woman going to the temples she would resist to the death, not so much from a religious sense as from a temple sense. She feels it her duty to go to the temples to worship God there. In the same way nothing could prevent her going to bathe in Ganges. Tell her she may get rheumatism or malaria if she goes and she will say, 'What is that to me? I must go.' In India voting will be plain sailing for the women. Of course, they will have to be educated to vote and taught that it is a right thing to do."

"No one in India," he continued, "will be shocked to see women going to the polls. But if they say women walk-



ing about the streets half-nude, as one sees them in the streets here, they would be shocked "

" Walking about the streets half-nude, Mr Gandhi ? When does one see that here ? "

" Well, say, three-quarters-nude," said Mr Gandhi, with the air of making a great concession

" Do you say in the streets ? One English-woman at least is shocked at the picture."

" Well, then, say in the music-halls," said Mr Gandhi, closing that part of the discussion

It may be explained here that on later application to one of Mr Gandhi's friends, an Englishwoman, the mystery of the Mahatma's picture was solved. He had been a few nights ago to a very smart evening gathering in the West End from which he had returned greatly depressed. The sight of some of the evening gowns had caused him to lower his eyes and keep them lowered. " I daresay he thinks that if he were to look about as he drives through the streets, said his friend, " he might see frocks as scanty there "

Coming to the question of women candidates, Mr Gandhi said he thought their chance of being elected was equal with that of the men. " If as many women as men were to stand for the Legislatures," he said, " the men might block up their ears and say " We are not going to be ruled by women " But it would be difficult to find hundreds of women coming forward, and at present in the majority of cases I think election will not be opposed "

Asked whether he thought the influence of Indian women would be for peace, he said that Indian women would not initiate a war. He did not know what English or American women might do, but his instinct told him that they would shrink from the slaughter of their own kith and kin.

He was asked whether India could bring into public life many other women as able as the three women delegates now in London. Mr. Gandhi said the delegates were indeed brilliant women, but they did not exhaust India's supply. Probably those entering the Dominion Parliament would be more brilliant still. "I think I could construct for the edification of mankind," he said, "a Parliament of a thousand women carrying on debates without any difficulty and without any men. I will not be able to present the world with a thousand women administrators, but as Parliamentarians they would do well in debate, and look nice, elegant, and cultured." In a short time perhaps, the women would be ready for administrative work, he said, but they would not yet have the necessary self-confidence.

"Even Mrs. Naidu would have at first to rely upon men. She is humble enough to say, 'I can frame a policy, I can introduce poetry into public life, why should I bother with budgetary things that I do not understand?'"

"She came after me in the presidency of the Congress," I said, "I am a wise economist and I have looked after the finances of India." She said, "I am not an economist or financier, you need not elect me if you want me to look after finance. Someone else would have to do that. I am a poet. And the people clapped."

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## “ GANGES FULL OF BLOOD.”

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### India Ready To Give Price for Freedom

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*The following is a report of the “ full-throated ” utterance of Mahatma Gandhi before about 500 friends of the Gandhi Society and the Indian Congress League, who gave a luncheon in his honour on the occasion of his birthday and on whose behalf Mr A Fenner Brockway ( President ) assured Gandhi of their hearty support in any campaign that India may have to undertake in the near future*

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Mahatma Gandhi said —

Ever since I came to London I have experienced nothing but friendliness and genuine affection I have been daily making new friends But you, sir, have reminded me that you have been friends in need, and friends in need are friends indeed When it appeared that India, rather Congressmen, might be abandoned by nearly everybody on earth you stood by the Congress firmly and accepted the Congress position as your own You have today renewed your faith in the Congress programme and thereby you have lightened my labours.

### FRIENDSHIP WITH STARVING MILLIONS

It would be like carrying coals to Newcastle to deliver to you the message for which I have been sent here as the

Congress representative You know all about the merits of the Congress case and I am convinced that the Congress case is quite safe in your hands and you have by your action today set the seal upon the friendship, through the Congress, of the dumb and semi-starved millions of India's villages

It is imagined that you have had a lunch My sympathies are wholly with you I am accustomed to English lunches, not through the taste but through the eyes, and when I saw this table, I realised what a sacrifice it was for you to take what is an apology for a luncheon I hope that the spirit of sacrifice will forbear until tea-time comes and you provide yourselves then with any little delicacies that English hotels and restaurants provide for you But behind this apparent joke, there is also a seriousness I know that you have sacrificed something Some of you have sacrificed much for advocating the cause of India's independence—understanding the word "independence" in its full English sense But it may be that you will be called upon, if you continue your advocacy of India's cause, to make much larger sacrifice I entertained no illusions in my mind when I undertook to come here You heard me say on the first day of my entry into London that one of the most potent causes of my having come to London, was to fulfil a word of honour that I had given to an honourable Englishman In pursuance of that word, without thinking what the result is likely to be, I am endeavouring to the utmost of my ability, to show to every Englishman and Englishwoman I meet that what the Congress stands for is what is deserved by India, and furthermore, I am endeavouring to show that the Congress is in earnest and I am here to vindicate the honour

of the Congress, the honour of India by asking for everything that is included in the Congress Mandate I have no liberty to diminish anything from the Congress claim, save to the extent that is permissible in that Mandate I feel that the task is difficult, almost superhuman There is so much ignorance of the conditions that prevail in India There is so much ignorance of true history.

## TWO INFALLIBLE TESTS

A Quaker young friend reminded me when I was about to come to England, that it was no use coming here so long as from childhood you were brought up, not on truthful history, but upon false history I see what the Quaker friend said exemplified as I come into contact with Englishmen and Englishwomen It is terribly difficult, almost impossible, for them to realise that Indians believe that the sum total of the activities of British administration in India has been harmful rather than beneficial to the nation India might have received many benefits from the British connection But it is of vital importance to sum up the good and evil and find out how India has fared

I have two infallible tests Is it or is it not a fact that India today is the poorest country in the world having millions of people remaining idle for six months of the year ?

Is it or is it not a fact that India has been rendered emasculated not merely through compulsory disarmament but also through being denied so many opportunities that members of a free nation are always entitled to ?

If you find upon investigation that in these two cases England has failed, I do not say hopelessly, but to a very large extent, is it not time that England revised her policy ?

## OUR BIRTH RIGHT

As a friend said, as the late Lokamanya Tilak said repeatedly from thousands of platforms "Freedom and independence were India's birthright" It is not necessary for me to prove that British rule has been in the end British mis-rule. It is enough for me to state that, misrule or good rule, India is entitled to her independence immediately there is a demand made for it on behalf of her voiceless millions.

It is no answer to be told that there are some in India who are afraid of the words "freedom" and "independence." There are some of us, I admit, who are afraid of talking about the freedom of India, if the British protection—so-called—is withdrawn from India. But I assure you that the starving millions and those who have become politically conscious entertain no such fear and they are ready to pay the price for the sake of freedom. There are, however, well-marked limitations so long as the Congress retains her present workers and her faith in her present policy. We do not want the freedom of India, to be bought at the sacrifice of the lives of others, to be achieved by spilling the blood of the rulers. But, if any sacrifice can be made by the nation, by ourselves, to win that freedom, then, you will find that we will not hesitate to give a Ganges full of blood to flow in India in order to obtain the freedom that has been so long delayed. I know, as you, sir, reminded me, that I was not a stranger in your

midst but that I was a comrade I know that I have this absolute assurance that so far as you are concerned and those whom you represent are concerned, you would always stand by us and prove once more to India that you are friends in need and therefore, friends indeed

I thank you once more for the great reception you have given to me I know that is not an honour done to me. You have done that honour to the principles which, I hope, are as dear to me as to you—if possible dearer—and I hope with your prayers and your assistance I shall never deny the principles that I to-day proclaim

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## IN PARIS

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 Message To Indians in Europe
 

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*On his way back to India, Mahatma Gandhi arrived in Paris in the afternoon of December 12, 1931, when he was received at the Gare Du Nord Railway Station by a large crowd of Indians, Frenchmen and other foreigners. As he stepped out of the train he was given rousing cheers to which he responded with his characteristic smile.*

*Later in the day Mahatma Gandhi addressed a public meeting of over 2,000 persons to which admission had been restricted by tickets.*

*The meeting was arranged by the local intellectuals.*

*After speaking for a few minutes on the general situation created by the conclusion of the Round Table Conference, Mahatma Gandhi answered a number of questions most of which were put to him by his French audience.*

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18      Question      When do you think India will be definitely freed ?

Answer      I am not sufficiently all-knowing to answer this question, or to make any prediction, which is known only to God



Question If India were suddenly freed, would she not—considering the ignorance of the majority of the people—be at the mercy of a handful of intellectuals ?

Answer Possibly But in any case it would be preferable for her to be led for a certain time by a group of intellectuals rather than to be under the thumb of demagogic leaders as in the West

Question Won't you do anything to lighten the misery of Lancashire ?

Answer Yes, of course, I shall try my best

Question If India were freed, would you set up economic barriers ? Would you permit commercial exchange with France ?

Answer No I should not oppose commercial exchange But I must tell you that when India is free, she will give commercial privileges to England rather than to any other country All the same permit me to say that France will interest us quite a good deal

Question Does the happiness of man reside in knowledge or in ignorance ? (Laughter)

Answer . In neither It resides in each man himself and in the search of perfection and truth

Question Are all men capable of seeking perfection ?

Answer Yes, they have it in themselves

Question . Are you satisfied with Mr MacDonald's Declaration ?

Answer . I must say that although I am not satisfied, I have great hope despite the fact that I may seem to be returning empty-handed

### HIS DRESS

Question A few years ago, I saw you dressed in European clothes Why have you abandoned them ?

Answer . I am poor, and like thousands of Indians, I do not allow myself to wear European clothes First, because they are too dear. Secondly, because they are quite unsuited to the climate of my country and, lastly, because it provides work for our Indian workers if we wear Indian clothes.

Question . Supposing there were a fresh warlike mobilisation in Europe, do you think that it would be possible to avoid war by the non-cooperation of military forces and of the people ?

Answer Non-cooperation in the case of war is everywhere possible, and it is by this that universal peace will be obtained According to other things, women, who are usually called the feeble sex, will then have the opportunity of showing their power by supporting non-co-operation and non-violence

Question Would it be right to allow oneself to be killed without putting up a fight ?

## NON-VIOLENCE, THE ONLY WEAPON

**Answer** In either case it would be a question of sacrificing one's life. For one who has decided to do this it would be better to remain passive under the law of non-violence than to arm oneself with "exterior" arms and kill another besides being killed oneself. In emergency of this kind, one should arm oneself externally, the internal spiritual forces are stronger and induce a more certain and lasting life. It is not by arming yourself that you will guarantee peace to the world. External arms, guns, cannons and gas have only evil and passing results. One puts down one's arms only when a respite is essential with the intention of resuming later. By using non-violence as their only weapon thousands of men will arm themselves intellectually and spiritually, with the principles which are in action during day and night and will attain this end and succeed in arousing the sympathy of the Englishmen.

**Question** If India were free, what would be her attitude towards Soviet Russia?

**Answer** I am so preoccupied with my own country that I must admit that I am rather ignorant of what concerns the Russian people. All the same I can tell you that when India is free she might well imitate what there is of good in Russia. If Russia becomes a little more spiritual all would be perfect with her.

## MESSAGE TO INDIANS IN EUROPE

In the course of his speech Mahatma Gandhi told his Indian audience "We had started a battle and in its midst signed a truce for negotiations which were not successful. But

nothing is lost now because I have ascertained the character and tactics of those with whom we have to fight so that in future we shall make no mistakes. In battles, misfortunes are normal and so we must continue with greater zest and determination and must face suffering for the freedom of our country. To those of you who are living in Paris and in other parts of Europe, my plea is that you strive always to present to the world all that is best in India and her cause. Strive always to draw the attention of the world to the real nature of India's struggle. I cannot tell you just at this moment the temper of our people in the country. But I can tell you that when I get back they will be ready to put up a fresh fight. What we want for our country is control of army and the purse and it can certainly be obtained if only we are prepared to suffer and be perfectly non-violent. I shall ask our countrymen once again to obtain it by suffering. Disobedience is not violence but disobedience means further suffering."

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## “JUST TWO KASHMIR RUGS.”

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### How Mahatma Faced English Winter.

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*“Bapu has not yet added anything to his clothing—he continues with just two Kashmir rugs—one for the shoulders and one for the knees. The food also continues to be the same”*

*Those that have known Mahatma Gandhi are well aware of his determination to stick to his avowed principles*

*In the following two letters, Mira Ben ( Miss Slade ) in her inimitable style depicts how Gandhiji faces the cold of the west in his usual scanty clothing and how meticulously he observes his hours of prayer, despite the other multifarious duties that demand his attention*

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KINGSLEY HALL,

London, E 3.

Oct 16

This week has been even more strenuous than any that have gone before, Bapu has been up nearly every night till 12 or 1 o'clock, and one night 2 o'clock. Added to this he now gets up at 3 o'clock in order to get more time in the early morning, but mercifully he does rest for an hour and a half after the morning prayer. He has had very little rest in the day time. Some days none at all. He does look very tired now—but there is nothing the matter 'except'

want of sleep It is said now that there will not be any more late nights But even early nights mean 10-30 or 11 o'clock

Our week-ends are our one hope of relief and rest Last week-end at Canterbury was the quietest, also most peaceful, time that Bapu has had since many a long day This week-end we are going to the Bishop of Chichester—and we hope for another peaceful time Dear Mr Andrews is arranging all these visits He has done much splendid work for us here, and had prepared the ground in a wonderful way We are also to visit Birmingham, Nottingham and Scotland perhaps Ireland also But you will be reading of all this in the papers

## JUST TWO KASHMIR RUGS

The weather continues to be beautiful Bapu has not yet added anything to his clothing—he continues with just two Kashmir rugs—one for the shoulders and one for the knees The food also continues to be the same We are all well—there is no doubt that the climate here is very healthy

Bapu and I are the only two (now) who go regularly to Bow for the night The other three have all taken to sleeping at Knights Bridge My time is more fully engaged than ever I have all the sweeping, cleaning, washing clothes, etc., and attending to Bapu's personal requirements and almost every day I came to Knights Bridge I am still overwhelmed with correspondence and I also have to see many people

## "THE ROOM WHERE MOTHER DIED."

Bapu was able to call at Simla House 'en-route' to Canterbury for an hour I was so glad of it as I was able to show him the room where "mother" died He also saw the garden with all the lovely roses and other flowers which "mother" had planted She had so often expressed the hope in her letters that Bapu would see the garden.

MIRA

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Oct. 23

There has been just a little improvement in Bapu's hours Instead of 1 and 2 o'clock it has been 11-30 and 12 mid-night for going to bed The rising hour for prayer (just Bapu and myself) continues to be 3 o'clock At 5-20, he goes for his morning walk The weather is getting decidedly cooler, and it continues fine It is really remarkable good weather. Bapu still wears just the two thin Kashmir Shawls—one for shoulders and one for the legs when sitting When walking he only uses the shoulder one His health except for want of sleep, remains good His food is the same, except that he is now taking a little more fruit, and sometimes adds fruit to the salad at the evening meal We have obtained excellent almond paste at Harrod's Stores, prepared especially for Bapu

Last week-end at Chichester we had a peaceful time Bapu enjoyed it very much He had good rest and liked the Bishop with whom we stayed To-morrow we are off to Nottingham and Birmingham We look forward to getting some sleep in the train Our party is divided between King-

## MILKING THE GOATS!



Mahatma was supplied milk from these Goats during his stay in London



AMONG THE FASCIST YOUTH



Mahatma spent some hours among the Fascist "Balilla"  
(Youth) of Rome, inspecting the Camp

sley Hall and Knights Bridge Mahadeo, Devidas and Pyarelal live at Knights Bridge—Bapu and I sleep at Kingsley Hall, Bapu goes away in the morning to his work in the West End at about 8-15, and I come along to Knights Bridge with goat's milk for the mid-day meal about 12-30, after having done all the sweeping and dusting of rooms and washing of clothes etc I then see to correspondence, engagements and so forth at Knights Bridge, attend to meetings of Bapu, and then return to Kingsley Hall, usually an hour or so before Bapu and put things ready for the night—the night of 3 to 4 or with luck 5 hours sleep

### TEN DAYS WITH ROMAIN ROLLAND

The invitations from Germany and other countries of Europe are pouring in for Bapu The appreciation and sympathetic interest are very strong Bapu feels touched by this call of Europe, and he hopes to give about a month to touring there as soon as he is freed from London It would probably mean visiting many countries and I am sure it will be a very valuable work and service I do hope nothing will prevent it at the last moment Before going anywhere else in Europe, we plan to go straight to Romain Rolland There Bapu could have perfect peace in lovely surroundings, and 10 days rest in Romain Rolland's society in that quiet, would be a perfect rest and relief for Bapu, after all this work and before starting on a continental tour

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## AT AN AGRICULTURAL SHOW.

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### A Sad Parting.

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Mr Gandhi—and Sam—went to the Dairy Show at the Agricultural Hall, Islington, writes Penthu<sup>v</sup>s Dunni in the “Daily Express” —

Sam is my name for that jolly, patient detective who protects Mr Gandhi from riot, fracas, barratry, and similar unpleasantness

Wherever Mr Gandhi goes, Sam goes too And Mr Gandhi and Sam went to the Dairy Show Eager anticipation was on the face of Mr Gandhi and he gathered his blanket round him and grinned from ear to ear as the ushers bowed him inside

Sam, who had seen a cow before, smiled politely

The party moved forward And there straight in front of Mr Gandhi was a ggantic black and white notice “To The Goats ”

A—grin—a joyous, tremendous grin—passed over the countenance of the Mahatma

Sam smiled politely

## LUCILLE

About two hundred and fifty farmers accompanied Mr Gandhi and Sam to the goats

"These are good goats," said an official

"They are splendid goats," said Mr Gandhi

"Jolly good goats," agreed Sam

Mr Gandhi walked down the goat lines. And then—a look of splendid recognition lit his face. There—comfortable in her pen, happy and hay chewing sat Lucille, the goat who has been supplying Mr Gandhi

She had won a prize! Mr Gandhi scratched her

"Nice," said Mr Gandhi

"Mairrrrrrrr!" agreed Lucille

"Jolly good goat," said Sam

Old scenes and old memories were recalled as Mr Gandhi and Lucille met once again. Sam stood by in silence and the two hundred and fifty farmers beamed their approval

"A good goat," said a farmer

"Mairrrrr," grinned Lucille

"Yes," said Mr Gandhi

The rest of the tour lost its punch somewhat after the reunion. There was a certain sameness about it

"This is a prize cow"

"Oh, yes," said Mr Gandhi.

"Good cow," said Sam

"This is a prize hen "

"Oh, yes," said Mr Gandhi

"Good hen," said Sam

"This is a prize pat of butter "

"Oh, yes," said Mr Gandhi

"Nice pat o' butter," said Sam

One feels sorry for Sam    He had seen a pat of butter before

Mr Gandhi inspected the show from top to bottom and found it good to look upon    And so did Sam

Finally the Mahatma left, and as the little man in white vanished round the corner of the door a look of poignant loneliness passed over the face of Lucille.

"Maurrrrr ! " cried Lucille

And oh, the pity of it !

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*The following leaves are culled from  
Sjt. Mahadeo Desai's Diary,  
which was published  
from week to week  
in  
"Young India"*

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## ON PRAYER AND LAW OF LOVE.

## Discourses on Board Steamer at Prayer time.

*The morning prayers are too early for others to join us, but practically all Indians, 'on board the steamer,' (who number over 42), Hindus, Musalmans, Parsis, Sikhs, and a sprinkling of Europeans attend the evening prayers. At the request of some of these friends a fifteen minutes' talk after prayer has become a daily feature. A question is asked each evening, and Gandhiji replies to it the next. One of the Indian passengers—a Musalman youth—asked Gandhiji to give his personal testimony on prayer, not a theoretical discourse but a narration of what he had felt and experienced as a result of prayer. Gandhiji liked the question immensely, and poured out his personal testimony from a full heart.*

"Prayer," said Gandhiji, "has been the saving of my life. Without it I should have been a lunatic long ago. My autobiography will tell you, that I have had my fair share of the bitterest public and private experiences. They threw me into temporary despair, but if I was able to get rid of it, it was because of prayer. Now I may tell you, that prayer has not been part of my life in the sense that truth has been. It came out of sheer necessity, as I found myself in a plight when I could not possibly be happy without it. And as time

went on my faith in God increased, and the more irresistible became the yearning for prayer. Life seemed to be dull and vacant without it. I had attended the Christian service in South Africa, but it had failed to grip me. I could not join them in prayer. They supplicated God, but I could not do so, I failed egregiously. I started with disbelief in God and prayer, and until at a late stage in life I did not feel anything like a void in life. But at that stage I felt that as food was indispensable for the body, so was prayer indispensable for the soul. In fact food for the body is not so necessary as prayer for the soul. For starvation is often necessary in order to keep the body in health, but there is no such thing as prayer-starvation. You cannot possibly have a surfeit of prayer. Three of the greatest teachers of the world—Buddha, Jesus, and Mahomed,—have left unimpeachable testimony, that they found illumination through prayer and could not possibly live without it. But to come nearer home, millions of Hindus and Musalmans and Christians find their only solace in life in prayer. Either you vote them down as liars or self-deluded people. Well, then, I will say, that this lying has a charm for me, a truth seeker, if that mainstay or staff of life, without which I could not bear to live for a moment is to be called a lie. In spite of despair staring me in the face on the political horizon, I have never lost my peace. In fact I have found people who envy my peace. That peace, I tell you, comes from prayer, I am not a man of learning but I humbly claim to be a man of prayer. I am indifferent as to the form. Every one is a law unto himself in that respect. But there are some well marked roads and it is safe to walk along the beaten tracks, trodden by the ancient



teachers I have given my personal testimony Let every one try and find, that as a result of daily prayer he adds something new to his life "

## A GEOMETRICAL AXIOM

"But," said another youth the next evening, "Sir, whilst you start with belief in God, we start with unbelief How are we to pray ?

"Well" said Gandhiji, "It is beyond my power to induce in you a belief in God There are some things which are self-proved, and some which are not proved at all The existence of God is like a geometrical axiom It may be beyond our heart-grasp I shall not talk of an intellectual grasp Intellectual attempts are more or less failures, as a rational explanation cannot give you the faith in a living God For it is a thing beyond the grasp of reason It transcends reason There are numerous phenomena from which you can reason out the existence of God, but I shall not insult your intelligence by offering you a rational explanation of that type I would have you brush aside all rational explanations and begin with a simple childlike faith in God If I exist, God exist With me it is a necessity of my being as it is with millions They may not be able to talk about it, but from their life you can see that it is part of their life I am only asking you to restore the belief that has been undermined In order to do so, you have to unlearn a lot that dazzles your intelligence and throws you off your feet. Start with the faith which is also a token of humility and an admission, that we know nothing, that we are less than atoms in this universe We are less than

atoms, I say, because the atom obeys the law of its being, whereas we in the insolence of our ignorance deny the law of nature. But I have no intellectual argument to address to those who have no faith

‘ Once you accept the existence of God, the necessity for prayer is unescapable. Let us not make the astounding claim, that our whole life is a prayer, and therefore we need not sit down at a particular hour to pray. Even men who were all their time in tune with the Infinite did not make such a claim. Their lives were a continuous prayer, and yet for our sake, let us say, they offered prayer at set hours, and renewed each day the oath of loyalty to God. God, of course, never insists on the oath, but we must renew our pledge every day, and I assure you we shall then be free from every imaginable misery in life ’

## THE LAW OF LOVE

The talks after the evening prayer have all been about non-violence, and the Egyptian friends who boarded the ship at Suez had an opportunity of listening to one such discourse

“ Consciously or unconsciously we are acting non-violently towards one another in daily life,” said Gandhi one evening. “ All well-ordered societies are based on the law of non-violence. I have found that life persists in the midst of destruction and, therefore, there must be a higher law than that of destruction. Only under that law would a well ordered society be intelligible and life worth living. And if that is the law of life, we have to work it out in daily life. Wherever there are jars, wherever you are confronted with an opponent,

conquer him with love In a crude manner I have worked it out in my life That does not mean that all my difficulties are solved I have found, however, that this law of love has answered as the law of destruction has never done In India we have had an ocular demonstration of the operation of this law on the widest scale possible I do not claim that non-violence has penetrated the three hundred millions, but I do claim that it has penetrated deeper than any other message, and in an incredibly short time We have not been all uniformly non-violent, and with the vast majority, non-violence has been a matter of policy Even so, I want you to find out if the country has not made phenomenal progress under the protecting power of non-violence "

In reply to another questioner, he said It takes a fairly strenuous course of training to attain to a mental state of non-violence In daily life it has to be a course of discipline though one may not like it, like for instance the life of a soldier But I agree that, unless there is a hearty co-operation of the mind, the mere outward observance will be simply a mask harmful both to the man himself and to others The perfect state is reached only when mind and body and speech are in proper co-ordination But it is always a case of intense mental struggle It is not that I am incapable of anger, for instance, but I succeed on almost all occasions to keep my feelings under control. Whatever may be the result, there is always in me a conscious struggle for following the law of non-violence deliberately and ceaselessly Such a struggle leaves one stronger for it Non-violence is a weapon of the strong With the weak it might easily be hypocrisy Fear and love are contra-

dictory terms Love is reckless in giving away, oblivious as to what it gets in return Love wrestles with the world as with the self and ultimately gains a mastery over all other feelings My daily experience, as of those who are working with me, is that every problem lends itself to solution if we are determined to make the law of truth and non-violence the law of life For truth and non-violence, are to me, faces of the same coin

“ The law of love will work, just as the law of gravitation will work, whether we accept it or no Just as a scientist will work wonders out of various applications of the laws of nature, even so a man who applies the law of love with scientific precision can work greater wonders For the force of non-violence is infinitely more wonderful and subtle than the material forces of nature, like, for instance, electricity The men who discovered for us the law of love were greater scientists than any of our modern scientists Only our explorations have not gone far enough and so it is not possible for every one to see all its working Such, at any rate, is the hallucination, if it is one under which I am labouring The more I work at this law the more I feel delight in the scheme of this universe It gives me a peace and a meaning of the mysteries of nature that I have no power to describe ”

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## SPARKS OF CONGRESS FIRE AT ADEN.

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### Gandhiji Gives Message To Arabs.

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*The Indians ( in Aden ) wanted to welcome Gandhiji and the other delegates to the R T C , but the Resident would not allow it if they insisted on having the national flag there They could not assert themselves until Gandhiji himself suggested to Mr Framroz Cowasji Dinshaw, the President of the Reception Committee, that he should phone to the Resident, tell him that he could not think of receiving an address under those conditions, that there was a truce between the Government of India and the Congress, and the Government must not resent the flag, if only under the truce The argument went home, and the Resident saved an ugly situation by consenting to the Indian National flag flying at the place where Gandhiji received the citizens' address*

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Another fact which I noticed was, that whilst the question of transfer has been on the tapis for some time, there was no reference to it at all in the address of welcome presented to Gandhiji I can attribute it to nothing but fear of the authorities There are however, some youths who have borne to Aden some sparks of the Congress fire at Bombay, and thanks to the Gujarathis who are evidently keeping themselves in touch with the move-

ment, there was quite a lot of white coarse cloth to be seen,—whether it was all genuine hand-spun, I cannot say

The situation gave Gandhiji the opportunity of delivering the message of the Congress, and the fact that the Arabs had taken part in organising the reception,—the address of the welcome was read both in Gujarati and Arabic,—afforded him an occasion to give a message to the Arabs also

## HONOUR NATIONAL FLAG

Replying to the address, and thanking them for the purse of 328 guineas that was presented to him, Gandhiji said

“I thank you for the honour you have done me I know, that the honour is not meant for me personally or for my friends It is an honour done to the Congress whom I hope to be able to represent at the Round Table Conference I came to know, that there was a hitch in your proceedings on account of the National flag Now it is inconceivable for me to find a meeting of Indians, especially where national leaders are invited, without the National flag flying there You know that many people sustained *lathi* blows and some have lost their lives in defending the honour of the flag, and you cannot honour an Indian leader without honouring the Indian national flag Again there is a settlement between the Government and the Congress, which is no longer to the Government a hostile party but a friendly party It is not enough, therefore, to tolerate or permit the Congress flag, but it must be given the place of honour where Congress representatives are invited

## INDIA AND WORLD-PEACE

‘ On behalf of the Congress I give you the assurance that, the Congress does not stand merely for isolated independence, which may easily become a menace to the world. The Congress with its creed of truth and non-violence cannot possibly be a menace to the world. It is my conviction, that India, numbering one-fifth of the human race, becoming free through non-violence and truth, can be a great force of service to the whole of mankind. On the contrary India having no voice in her affairs is today a menace. It is a helpless India exciting the jealousy and greed of other countries which must live by exploiting her. But when India refuses to be exploited and is well able to take care of herself, and achieves that freedom through non-violence and truth, she will be a force for peace and make for peaceful atmosphere in this troubled globe of ours.

## A MESSAGE TO THE ARABS

“ It was therefore natural, that the Arabs and others joined the Indians in organising this function. All who desire peace must join together to perpetuate peace. This great peninsula, the birthplace of Mahomed and of Islam, can help to solve the Hindu-Moslem problem. It is a matter of shame to me to confess, that we are a house divided against itself. We fly at each other's throats in cowardice and fear. The Hindu distrusts the Musalman through cowardice and fear, and the Musalman distrusts the Hindu through equal cowardice and imaginary fears. Islam throughout history has stood for matchless bravery and peace. It can, therefore, be no matter for pride to the

Musalman, that they should fear the Hindus. Similarly, it can be no matter for pride to the Hindu that they should fear Musalmans, even if they are aided by the Musalmans of the world. Are we so fallen, that we should be afraid of our own shadows? You will be glad to hear that the Pathans are living in peace with us. They stood side by side with us in the last struggle, and sacrificed their young men on the altar of liberty. I want you, who belong to the country of the Prophet's birth, to make your contribution to the restoration of peace between Hindus and Muslims in India. I cannot tell you how you are to do it, but, I may remind you, that where there is a will, there is a way. I want the Arabs of Arabia to come to our rescue and help, to bring about a condition of things when the Musalman will consider it a point of honour to help the Hindu and *vice versa*.

"For the rest I would also give you the message of spinning and weaving in your homes. Some of the Caliphs led lives which were models of simplicity, and if you help yourself by making your own cloth, there is in it nothing derogatory to Islam. There is also the problem of drink which for you should be twice cursed. There should be not a drop here, but as there are other communities too, I think the Arabs will have to persuade them to make Aden dry. I do hope our relations with one another will now grow richer and closer."

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## WITH THE EGYPTIANS.

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### Touching Tributes and Hearty Greetings.

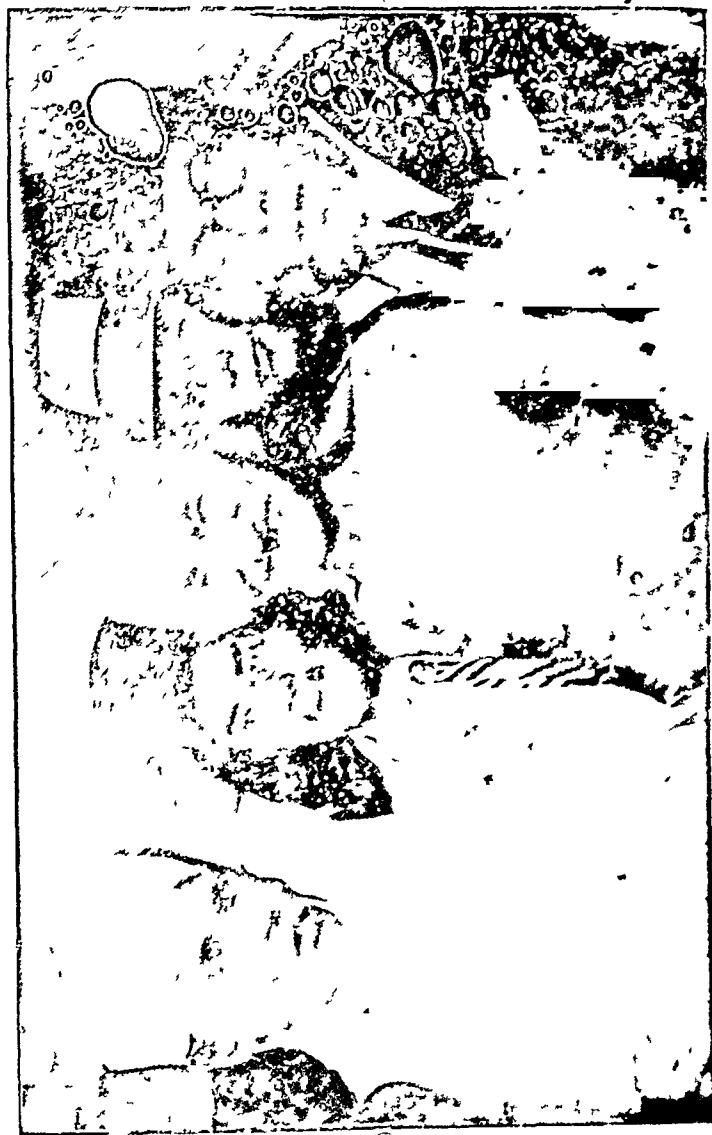
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Now as we are nearing the Suez, we have messages every few hours from Indians and Egyptians in Cairo, the most noteworthy being from Madame Zagloul Pasha: "On happy occasion crossing Egyptian waters I send great leader of great India my heartiest compliments and best wishes success Indian cause" I may also copy here a marcomigram from *Al Balagh*, the leading Egyptian journal, "*Al Balagh* newspaper Cairo greets India in your person, wishes full success for Indian cause in Conference"

The following warm message of greetings was received from Nahas Pasha, President of the Wafd party—the party now in opposition and fighting for Egyptian independence for which Zagloul Pasha fought and died.

"The great Leader Al Mahatma Gandhi, 'Rajputana'

"In the name of Egypt who is now fighting for its independence, I welcome in you the foremost leader of the foremost leader of that India which is also struggling to attain the same end, and I convey to you my hearty wishes for a safe journey and a happy return. I also ask God to grant to you success in your quest—a success equal to the greatness of your determination. I hope to have the pleasure of meeting you on your homeward journey, and trust that the land of the Pharaohs will then be favoured by your visit, thus enabling the Wafd and the Egyptian Nation at large to express to you,



Egyptian Journalists interviewing Gumbuj on board the Steamer at Cino

## THOSE SLEUTH HOUNDS!



Mahatmajji with his Son Devdas besieged by international journalists as he landed at Marseilles.

whatever be the result of your journey, both their appreciation of your noble achievements to promote the welfare of your country, and their reverence for the greatness of the sacrifice made by you in support of your principles. May God prolong your life, and crown your endeavours with a victory far reaching and abiding. Our representatives both at Suez and at Port Said will have the honour of conveying to you by word of mouth our welcome and our best wishes. Mustafa El Nahas Pasha, President of the Wafd "

Madame Zagloul's touching message and *Al Balagh's* hearty greetings, and Nahas Pasha's marconigram to crown both, form a triple message for us to treasure

A number of Egyptian press correspondents saw Gandhiji on board the ship and a representative of Nahas Pasha met Gandhiji both at Suez and Port Said. A deputation of Indian merchants in Cairo, mostly Sindhis, waited on Gandhiji both at Suez and Port Said, and gave him an address of welcome and pressed him to pay a visit to Cairo on the return journey. I learnt definitely at Port Said that though no exception had been taken to this Indian deputation waiting on Gandhiji the authorities were against granting permission to Egyptian deputations and it was with great difficulty that a single representative of Nahas Pasha could get the permission

In this connection, a brief resume of the present conditions in Egypt would not be out of place. I do not claim to have made a study of them, but I have had now the advantage of long talks with Egyptians and have a fair idea of what they have passed through. The methods of the despot are every-

where the same, so much so that if you knew the general outline you could easily fill in the details. No one, I suppose, is under the delusion that Egypt is enjoying real independence, but I was not prepared for all that I heard.

With an Egyptian King and Egyptian Prime Minister, Egypt is no more independent than India is. Zagloul Pasha created the institution known as the Wafd Misri—Body of Representatives of Egypt—of which the President now is Nahas Pasha, who was formerly Zagloul's private secretary and for a brief interval Prime Minister. But the British Government could not brook the aspirations of the Wafd and soon found in King Fuad and Sidki Pasha ready tools. Nahas Pasha failed in his conferences with the British Cabinet, King Fuad suspended the Parliament and made Sidki Pasha virtual dictator. This resulted in a wholesale boycott of last year's election and a general strike followed by, what the Egyptians characterise as, three "massacres." I had no means to test the accuracy of the details given to me, but I was told that when the men in the Railway Workshop laid down tools and, cried "Victory to the Wafd", they were fired upon by the soldiers. "Were the workers absolutely non-violent?" I asked. "They had no arms", said the friend I was interviewing, "but they threw pieces of iron at the soldiers who killed 70 and wounded nearly a thousand. These wounded, whilst in hospital, were kept under strict military guard, and when discharged were converted into undertrial prisoners and tried for political demonstrations against Government. The present assembly is a packed body of Government creatures, and the administration is in the hands of Sidki Pasha's men." "What about the press?" I asked, and I heard practically the same

story as we are familiar with in India—perhaps much worse ” “ The Police are posted at our presses, the first proof copy has to be shown to them and they suppress the issue if they think it contains objectionable matter ” “ What about the students ? What about the masses ? ” I asked “ The students are all with us The women under Madame Zaghloul, who is called the Mother of the Egyptians, are also astir, and what is known as the Moderate or the Liberal Party, which used to attack and criticise the Wafd is now supporting the Wafd Mahomed Mahmud Pasha, the President of the party, was belaboured during one of the disturbances and he has since become a staunch supporter of the Wafd ” Indeed among the many telegrams that were received at Port Said was one from Mahomed Mahmud Pasha and also from Cherifa Riaz Pasha, the President of the Women’s Saadist Committee In spite of the strong press censorship, I may say that no less than twelve Egyptian papers—three of them with a daily circulation of 40 to 50 thousand—had special articles on Gandhiji, two issued special numbers, and all reproduced the telegrams and marconigrams sent to Gandhiji by Nahas Pasha, Madame Zaghloul Pasha, Mahomed Mahmud Pasha and others

No wonder Egypt is as impatient of the British yoke as we are, and wants Gandhiji to visit Egypt on his return Everyone asked for a message from Gandhiji or from India to her “ Younger sister Egypt ”, and Gandhiji expressed, in everyone of the messages he gave, his best wishes for the great country, the key note of all of them being how good it would be if Egypt took up the message of non-violence To an English journalist who saw him at Suez, he said in reply to a question “ I would heartily welcome the union of East and West provided it is not based on brute force

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## WITH CHARLIE CHAPLIN.

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### Comedian Has a Serious Talk on Machinery.

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Perhaps few would believe that when Gandhiji was told that Mr Charlie Chaplin would like to see him, he innocently asked who that distinguished person was. For several years Gandhiji's life has been such as to allow him no time to see or hear or read anything that does not come to him in ordinary course of work that he has cut out for himself. But as soon as he was told that Mr Chaplin, came from the people and lived for the people, and that he had made millions laugh, he agreed to meet him at the house of Dr Katial, who has placed himself and his car at our disposal during Gandhiji's stay in London. Mr Chaplin struck me to be a genial, unassuming gentleman and nothing like we find him on the film. But perhaps in concealing himself lies his skill. Gandhiji had not heard of him, but he had evidently heard of Gandhiji's spinning wheel and the very first question he asked was why Gandhiji was against machinery. The question delighted Gandhiji who explained to him in detail why the six month's unemployment of the whole peasant population of India made it important for him to restore them to their former subsidiary industry. "Is it then only as regards cloth?" "Precisely" said Gandhiji. "In cloth and food every nation should be self-contained. We were self-contained and want to be that again. England with her large-scale

production has to look for a market elsewhere. We call it exploitation. And an exploiting England is a danger to the world, but if that is so, how much more so would be an exploiting India, if she took to machinery and produced cloth many times in excess of her requirements."

"So the question is confined only to India?" said Mr. Chaplin grasping the point quickly. "But supposing you had in India the independence of Russia, and you could find other work for your unemployed and ensure equitable distribution of wealth, you would not then despise machinery? You would subscribe to shorter hours of work and more leisure for the worker?"

"Certainly," said Gandhiji. The question has now been discussed with Gandhiji for the hundredth time, but I have not come across a lay foreigner who grasped the situation so quickly. The reason was perhaps his freedom from prejudice or prepossession and his sympathy.

This sympathy came vividly out when Sarojinidevi reminded him of his visit to an English prison. "I can face a crowd of rich people," he said, "but I cannot face these prisoners. But for the Grace of God, say I to myself, you would have been with them. One feels quite inferior to the occasion as one cannot do anything. What difference is there between us and them excepting that of the bars around them? I am for a radical prison reform. Crime is a disease like any other and it should be treated not in prison but in houses of correction."



## FUTURE FRIEND.

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### Love vs Bayonet.

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If Mr Fenner Brockway and his party had proved themselves to be "friends indeed," Gandhiji is fast making fresh friends who will also be the friends in need and strengthen Mr Brockway's gallant band. Though there is much ignorance, due to the teaching of false history and pernicious newspaper propaganda, there is a widespread desire expressed everywhere for the right information about India, and many groups of young men have approached Gandhiji for a conference and talk. Note-worthy among them were the members of the Oxford House, a group of Oxford men who have settled in, or who are giving the best part of their time to the people living in the East End. Numerous questions were asked in a sincere spirit of inquiry after Gandhiji had in brief put the case for India. Here are some of them with their answers.

### PERIOD OF TRANSITION

*Do you want British control to be withdrawn at once?*

Certainly. I have never contemplated a gradual process. But that does not mean complete isolation from Great Britain. If Great Britain will have complete partnership I would treasure it, but it must be a real partnership, no cloak for rulership or guardianship. I know that some of you honestly entertain the fear that there would be anarchy and bloodshed no sooner than the British withdrew from India. Well, if the British so

choose, it is up to them to help us out of the mess that they have helped to create. They are responsible for much of the dissensions between different communities and they are responsible for having emasculated a whole people. And, I may confess, that we may experience temporary difficulty if you went away at once. But it is open to you to tender some assistance, provided that you would consent to remain under our control. But what can conquer your unpardonable pride of race? I would willingly have British soldiers and British officers under our national Government, we would be guided by their advice too, but the final direction of policy must be ours. But, even if you withdrew and we were without any disciplined assistance, we have enough faith in our non-violence. I do not think that we will not survive the withdrawal of British power and British assistance both of which are today superimposed on us. With these superimposed I should not feel the glow of freedom. And I wish that we may have an opportunity to fight unto death for freedom, if only to open your eyes. Why is it that you do not ask questions of fitness in respect of the Afghans? We have a culture not inferior to theirs. Or do you think it is difficult to win freedom and to enjoy it without an element of savagery in one's nature? Well, if we are a nation of cowards the sooner you leave us to our fate the better that the burden of cowards was removed from this earth. But cowards cannot for ever remain cowards. You do not know what a coward I was when young and you will agree that I am not quite a coward today. Multiply my example and you will have one whole nation shaking off its cowardice.

## CHRISTIAN INFLUENCE.

*Has India benefited by Christianity ?*

Indirectly I have spoken about this more than once. The contacts of some of the noblest Christians could not but benefit us. We studied their lives, we came in contact with them, and they naturally ennobled us. But as regards missionary activities as such, I cannot but use the language of caution. The very least I would say is that I doubt if they have benefited India. The most I could say is that they have repelled India from Christianity and placed a barrier between Christian life and Hindu or Musalman life. When I go to your scriptures I do not see the barrier raised, but when I see a Missionary I find that barrier rising up before my eyes. I want you to accept this testimony from one who was for a time susceptible to those influences. The missionaries working in Colleges and Hospitals too have served us with the mental reservation that through the Hospital and College they want people to come to Christ. I have a definite feeling that if you want us to feel the aroma of Christianity, you must copy the rose. The rose irresistibly draws people to itself, and the scent remains with them. Even so, the aroma of Christianity is subtler even than the rose and should, therefore, be imparted in an even quieter, and more imperceptible manner, if possible.

## UNCLE GANDHI.

Mr Carter, member of an important Royal Commission on Breweries and a great temperance reformer, was with Gandhiji this morning during the walk. He came to understand the question of the drink traffic in India and to fix up

details of a meeting for a conference on the question. The moment he saw the common people rushing out to greet Gandhi he said "You are their true representative and they would like you to settle here." "They are your Constituency" said Miss Lester. Numerous birthday greetings received by Gandhi are from these new friends—many among them children who have sent to him flowers—"their pals" and wished many a happy return of the day to "Uncle Gandhi."

Some of the most interesting questions were asked by Indian students at the meeting where until late in the night Gandhi regaled them with banter and urbane sarcasm.

### LOVE VS BAYONET

*Is not your demand of unity from the Musalmans as absurd as the demand of unity our Government makes of us? Why not give up everything rather than prevent the solution of such a big question?*

You have made a double mistake. First, in comparing what I have said to the Musalmans with what Government are saying to us. Seemingly, one would think, it was a substantial analogy, but if you look deeper you will find that there is no point of comparison. The British attitude is backed by the bayonet, whereas, what I say proceeds from the heart and has nothing but affection to back it. The surgeon and the tyrant assassin use the same instruments with contrary results. What I have said is that I could not possibly carry any demand which has not the backing of all Musalman parties. How can I be guided by a mere majority? The deeper question is that whilst there are one set of friends asking

for one thing I have got another set of comrades with whom I have worked at this very thing and who some time ago were introduced by the other set of friends as the most estimable co-workers Am I to be guilty of disloyalty to them ?

And you must understand that there is nothing in my power to grant I only told them that I would champion their demand if it had a unanimous backing As for my position of surrender to those who ask for rights, it has been a conviction of a lifetime If I could persuade the Hindus to adopt my attitude there would be an immediate solution of the question, but there I have a Mt Everest to climb, so what I have said is not so foolish as you may imagine If I alone had anything in my power, I should not have allowed the miserable question to hang on and make us an object of humiliation before the whole world

Lastly, I have no religion so far as this question is concerned That does not mean that I am not a Hindu But my Hinduism is not tarnished or harmed by the surrender I propose When I took upon myself alone to represent the Congress I said to myself that I could not consider the question in terms of Hinduism but in terms of nationalism, in the terms of the rights and interests of all Indians I have, therefore, no hesitation in saying that the Congress claims to be the custodian of all interests—even of English interests, in so far as they would regard India as their home and not claim any interests in conflict with those of the dumb millions.

## NATIVE STATES SUBJECTS

*Why did you say nothing about the subjects of the Native States at the Conference ? I am afraid, you have sacrificed their interests*

Well, those people did not expect me to make wordy declarations before the R T C, but they certainly expect me to place certain things before the Princes, which I have done. There would be time to criticise my action when it fails. I must be permitted to handle things after my own fashion. And it is not the R T C that is going to give me what I want for the subjects of the States. I have to take it from the Princes. Similar is the question of the Hindu Muslim unity. I would bend my knee before Musalmans and ask from them what I want, but I could not do it across the round table. You must know that I am a skilled advocate and after all, if I fail, you can take away the brief from me.

## INDIRECT ELECTIONS

*Why did you commit yourself to the indirect method of election ? Don't you know that the Nehru Report disapproves of it ?*

Your question is good, but it betrays what we call in logic an ambiguous middle. Leave alone the indirect method of election in Nehru report. It is a different thing altogether. As for the method I propounded, I may tell you that it is daily growing upon me. All that you need to understand is that it is intimately connected with adult suffrage which cannot be effectively worked except by it. After all you will have seven hundred thousand electors, themselves elected by

the whole adult population of India Without my method it will be an unwieldy and expensive electorate Every village republic, to use the words of Maine, would choose an attorney and instruct him to elect a representative for the highest legislature in the land

After all, what may suit England and the Western world need not necessarily suit us Why should we be blotting sheets of Western civilisation Ours is a country governed by entirely different conditions Why should we not have our own special method of election ?

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## FAILURE OF COMMUNAL PROBLEM

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### Gandhiji Not Ready To Mince Matters.

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*It will be remembered that Gandhiji's speech announcing the failure of the negotiations on the Communal questions marked the second important point in the discussions—the first being the first speech in the Federal Structure Committee. This speech did indeed put the backs up of several high dignitaries, but convinced them that Gandhiji was on no account going to mince matters. Even papers like the Manchester Guardian were not prepared to believe that the Minorities' Committee was unnecessarily sandwiched into the deliberations of the Federal Committee and that the Communal question had been given an undue prominence. Practically the whole week has been taken up in trying to convince those concerned that he was in dead earnest when he said it and that it was the duty of Government to place all the cards on the table.*

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Here is a series of questions and answers

*If the Communal problem should not predominate over all the rest, why should you yourself have said, at one stage, that you would not think of going to the Round Table Conference, unless the Communal question was settled?*

You are right. But you forget that I was borne down



by the extreme pressure of English and other friends in India who said that it was imperative that I should go. I was also persuaded that, if only to keep my word of honour with Lord Irwin, I should go. Now, here I find myself face to face with men who are not nationalists, and who were selected only because they were Communalists. Therefore, though I said that it was a matter of humiliation for us all not to have been able to come to a decision, the principal cause was the very composition of the Committee itself. It is too unreal for words. There are men who claim to represent Communities which, if they were in India, and if a referendum were to be taken, would disown them.

*What about the untouchables? Dr Ambedkar was very severe on you and said that the Congress had no right to claim to represent the untouchables?*

I am glad you have asked the question. I do not mind Dr Ambedkar. He has a right even to spit upon me, as every untouchable has, and I would keep on smiling if they did so. But I may inform you that Dr Ambedkar speaks for that particular part of the country where he comes from. He cannot speak for the rest of India and I have numerous telegrams from the so-called 'untouchables' in various parts of India assuring me that they have the fullest faith in the Congress and disowning Dr Ambedkar. And this confidence has a reason. They know the work that the Congress is doing for them and they know that if they cannot succeed in making their voice felt I would be prepared to lead a campaign of civil resistance on their behalf and paralyse the

Hindu orthodox opposition, if there were such an opposition against them. On the other hand if they were to be given special electorates, as Dr Ambedkar persists in demanding, it would do that very community immense harm. It would divide the Hindu community into armed camps and provoke needless opposition.

*I see your point, and I have no doubt that you can legitimately speak for the untouchables. But you seem to ignore the fact that communities all the world over insist on being represented by their own people. The devoted Liberals of the north would truly represent the working men, but they would have their representatives from amongst themselves, and the great stubborn fact against you is that you are not an untouchable!*

I know it very well. But the fact that I claim to represent them does not mean that I should think of representing them on the legislatures. By no means. I should have their own representatives drawn from their own class on the legislatures, and if they are left out I should provide for their statutory co-optation by the elected members. But when I am talking of representing them, I am talking of the representation on the Round Table Conference and I can assure you that if any one in India challenged our claim I should gladly face a referendum and successfully.

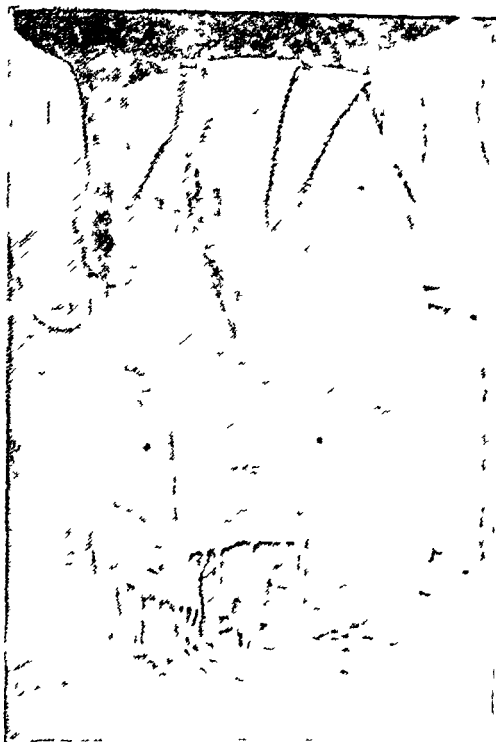
*From this point of view it would be interesting to hear you about the Musalmans too. You do not say that the Musalmans here do not represent their community?*

Well, they are not duly elected, and I may tell you that I asked so many of the real nationalist Musalmans to stay away

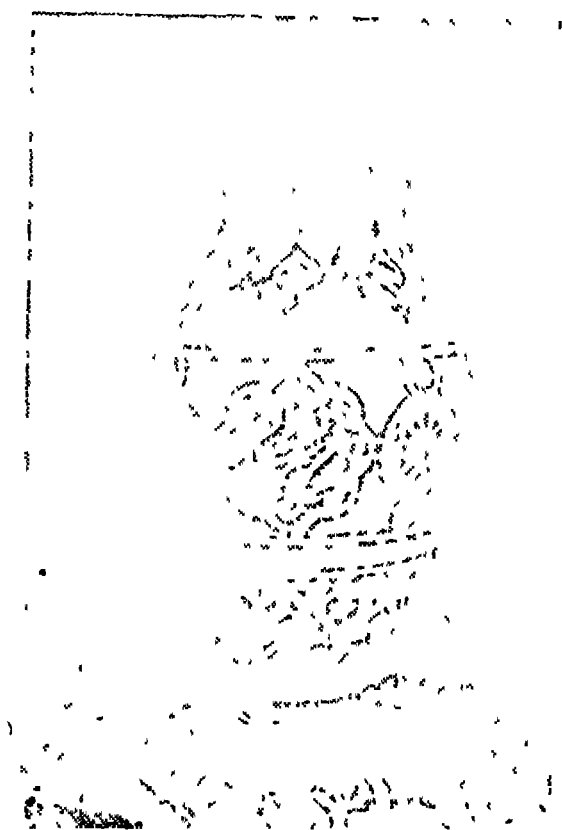
There is a vast majority of the younger leaders— Mr. Khwaja, Mr Sherwani, to name only two—whom I came to know only through the friends who are today ranged against the Congress, and who are opposed to any Communal solution of the problem. Personally, I would give the Musalmans all that they want and I have been waking up late after midnight in persuading the Hindus and the Sikhs to go with me, but I have failed. Do you think I would have failed if the Sikhs were elected by the Sikhs and not nominated by Government? Master Tara Singh would have been here. I know his views and he has his 17 points to pit against Mr Jinnah's 14, but I am quite sure I could bear him down, as he is after all a comrade in arms. Is it surprising then that we should fail to achieve a settlement in the present atmosphere? It is, therefore, I said, that having already handicapped us, do not handicap us more by saying that the solution of the Communal problem must precede any decision on the Constitutional question. I tell them, let us know what we are going to get, so that on that basis I might endeavour to bring about unity even in the present ill-assorted group. Let us have something tangible. It would be another string to the bow and help us to arrive at a solution. For I could tell them that they were dashing a precious thing to pieces. But today I have nothing to present them with. And even if there were no solution I have suggested various ways—private arbitration, judicial tribunal, etc. That is the situation.

*May I take it then that you do not attach much importance to the Communal question?*

I have never said so. I say that the question has been



Shawl pre-ented to Mahatmap by his  
Egyptian admners. It was specially  
woven for him out of Camels hairs



Egyptians presented to Mahatmaj some honey of which he is very fond in the above casket A scripture from the Holy Quoran is inscribed on it

allowed to overshadow the main thing, which needs to be specially emphasised

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Perhaps the most direct questions were asked at the American Journalists' Vegetarian Luncheon at Savoy Hotel. It was in the fitness of things that the luncheon should have been strictly vegetarian (without meat, fish, or eggs) and Gandhiji, in thanking them for it, described it as a delicate courtesy. He regaled them for some minutes with stories as to how journalists had misquoted him and how in one instance a misrepresentation had nearly cost him his life. He commended them the motto of truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, and answered questions as they were asked. One would have thought they would ask questions of a general nature and of universal interest, but they were too full of their present immediate surroundings to want to travel out of them.

*Are you hopeful of a successful outcome?*

Being an optimist, I never lose hope, but I can say that I am no nearer a solution than I was in Bombay. There are numerous difficulties. I know that the Congress demand appears a little too high in the atmosphere that is found to exist here, though I think that is none too high.

*Is there no way out of the difficulty?*

There are many ways, but whether they will be adopted by the parties concerned, I do not know. We have been told that the solution of the Constitutional question depends on the solution of the Communal

question It is not true and I am afraid, it is the very presentation of the question in this inverted form that has made the question more difficult and given it an altogether artificial importance, and because it has been made the fulcrum the parties concerned feel that they can pitch their demands as high as possible And thus, we are moving in a hideously vicious circle and the task of peace becomes more and more difficult But I, for the life of me, see no vital connection at all between the two questions India will have freedom whether the communal question is solved or not solved No doubt we would have difficult times after the attainment of freedom, but freedom itself cannot be held up by the question, for we can get freedom as soon as we are worthy of it and being worthy of it means suffering enough for it, paying a rich price for the rich prize of freedom But if we have not suffered, if we have not paid the price, even a solution of the question would be of no help to us If we have suffered enough, and offered sufficient sacrifices, no argument or negotiation would be necessary But who am I to determine that we have suffered enough? In the hope that we had suffered enough I came here and I am not at all sorry that I came here, for I find that my work lies outside the Conference and that is why in spite of my numerous engagements I agreed to come here, for this I regard as part of my work

### IN BRITAIN'S INTERESTS

*Does not the General Election make your work difficult?*

It need not If British statesmen realised that the financial situation would be more difficult if there were a war between

England and India, however non-violent, they would not allow the general election to hamper the solution of our problem. They must realise that in case India's demands are not granted, there is bound to be a fierce boycott, and all the attention of Great Britain will have to be absorbed in looking after her quickly-perishing trade interest in India. On the contrary, if there is an honourable partnership, Great Britain would be more free to mend her own affairs. But there is another very great difficulty in our way. So long as India is held by the bayonet the British ministers will continue to cast their hungry eyes on the famishing masses of India and forging fresh means of draining the last ounce of silver and gold from India not necessarily by a malicious design, but forced by the necessity of the case, for when there is unemployment and want stalling the land and there is a chance of relief from some direction, no matter whether it is by exploiting another country, you cannot expect the statesmen to weigh every thing in golden scales, and model their conduct on a strictly ethical code. It will drive them to desperate measures like manipulating India's currency. That may for a time put off the agony, but the ultimate doom cannot long be delayed.

### WITH YOUTH

At the Gower Street Indian Students' meeting there was an Indian atmosphere—Indian national songs and our national anthem, which we heard here for the first time, (we had our prayers at the meeting which offered a congenial atmosphere)—and perfect dignity and decorum. Another meeting, where a negro student from the Gold Coast, a Russian student, a Korean student and an English student asked questions—



and many more would have asked, had there been time—was characterised by a spirit of search for truth which charmed Gandhiji, who simply let himself go and gave some of the soul-stirring messages on the implications of truth and love in the present industrial age. He felt at both the functions that he was amongst his own dear boys and felt like leaving for them a message they would treasure and translate in their lives. What could be more penetrating than the following, which came after a preface indicating how the Congress had renounced the age-worn method of inflicting injury on others and adopted the method of inflicting injury on oneself to achieve freedom, and how having gone through a course of suffering the country had deputed him as its sole representative in the hope that “the suffering India had gone through, had created sufficient impression on the minds of the British Ministers and the British mind generally so that there might be a little room left for argument, reason, discussion and negotiation,” and how he was trying every means in his power to prevent a cataclysm in India with all its frightful consequences.

### A HOPE

“It may be,” he said, referring to the out-of-the-conference-work that he was doing, “that the seed which is being sown now may result in softening the British spirit and that it may result in the prevention of the brutalisation of human beings. I have known the English nature in its hideous form in the Punjab. I have known it elsewhere also, during these fifteen years of experience and through history, I have known the same thing happening. It is my purpose by every means

at my command to prevent such a catastrophe occurring again I am more concerned in preventing the brutalisation of human nature than in preventing the sufferings of my own people I have often gloated over the sufferings of my own people I know that people who voluntarily undergo a course of suffering raise themselves and the whole of humanity, but I also know that people who become brutalised in their desperate efforts to get victory over their opponents or to exploit weaker nations or weaker men, not only drag down themselves but mankind also And it cannot be a matter of pleasure to me or anyone else to see human nature dragged in the mire If we are all sons of the same God and partake of the same divine essence, we must partake of the sin of every person whether he belongs to us or to another race You can understand how repugnant it must be to invoke the beast in any human being, how much more so in Englishmen, amongst whom I count numerous friends! I invite you to give, all the help you can in the endeavour that I am making

### A TASK FOR STUDENTS

"To the Indian Students my appeal is to study this question in all thoroughness and if you really believe in the power of non-violence and truth, then for God's sake express these two things in your daily life—not merely in the political field—and you will find that whatever you do in this direction will help me in the struggle It is possible that Englishmen and Englishwomen who come into close touch with you will assure the world that they have never seen students so good, so truthful, as Indian students Don't you think that that would go a long way towards vindicating our nation? The words

“ self-purification ” occurred in a Congress Resolution in 1920 From that moment the Congress realised that we were to purify ourselves We were by self-sacrifice to purify ourselves so that we would deserve liberty and so that God would also be with us If that is the case, every Indian whose life bears testimony to the spirit of self-sacrifice helps his country, without having to do anything more Such in my opinion, is the strength of the means which the Congress adopted Therefore, in the battle for freedom, every student here need do nothing more than that he should purify himself and present a character above reproach and above suspicion ”

The reader will notice the vision of a Ganges of self-suffering is growing upon Gandhiji more and more and there is not a meeting where he does not share with his hearers the echoes he hears from the innermost Deep of the coming storm I shall cull some of the questions and answers for the readers

## PRICE OF LIBERTY

*( At the National Labour Club Reception ) Are you not indicating a tendency to bellicose Nationalism ? And do you not think it would be a dangerous ideal to sacrifice a million lives in order to attain freedom ?*

I do not think it to be a dangerous ideal to sacrifice one's own life, and these precious lives will be sacrificed by a nation that is living in compulsory disarmament India, you must remember, is wedded to non-violence and, therefore, there is no question of taking someone else's life We do not consider

our lives so cheap as to be given away for nothing, but we do not consider our lives to be dearer than liberty itself, and therefore, had we to sacrifice a million lives, we would do so tomorrow, and God above would say nothing but "Well done my children." We are trying to gain our liberty, you on the other hand have been an Imperialistic minded race. You have been in the habit of committing frightfulness—and as the late General Dyer put it in answer to a question by the Hunter Commission, 'Yes, I did this frightfulness deliberately.' I am here to say that General Dyer was not the only one capable of resorting to this frightfulness. We can reverse the process and sacrifice ourselves in the attempt to gain our liberty. It is up to you, those who are trustees of the honour of the British nation, to prevent this disaster if you can.

### GIFT OR A BIRTHRIGHT

*Would we not be making a mistake in giving you independence?*

I think you will if you give independence to anyone. And please, therefore, remember that I have not come to beg for independence, but I have come as a result of last year's suffering and at the end of that suffering, time came when we left India in order to see whether we have now sufficiently impressed the British mind with our suffering, so that I can go away with an honourable settlement. But if I go away with an honourable settlement I shall not go away with the belief that I have received any gift from this nation. There is no such thing as a gift of independence from one nation to another. It has got to be gained and bought with

one's blood and I feel that we have already spilt sufficient of our own blood in the process which has gone on deliberately since 1919. But it may be that in God's Grace He considers that we have not suffered enough, that we have not gone through the process of purification. Then, I am here to testify that we shall continue the process of self-sacrifice until at last no Britisher will want to remain in India a ruler.

*Lord Irwin is reported to have said in a speech at the Central Hall that he knew you would not insist on complete independence. Is this true?*

Well, in the first instance, I do not know that Lord Irwin made the speech which is imputed to him. Secondly, I must not speak for Lord Irwin. That would be a question well addressed to him. But I never told Lord Irwin that I would not press for complete independence. On the contrary, so far as my memory serves me right, I told him that I would press for complete independence and for me that does not mean ruling India through deputies, i.e. Indian agents rather than English agents. Complete independence to me means National Government.

## BRITISH TROOPS AND VICEROY

*How do you reconcile complete independence with the retention of British troops?*

British troops may remain in India and that would depend upon the arrangement that the partners came to. This, for a limited period, would be to the interest of India because India has become emasculated and it is necessary to retain some

portion of British troops or some portion of British officers under the National Government and in the employ of the National Government, I shall defend the partnership and yet defend the retention of those troops

*Do you envisage a Viceroy when you speak of an independent India ?*

Whether the Viceroy remains is a question to be decided by both the parties. Speaking for myself, I cannot conceive a Viceroy remaining. But I can conceive a British agent remaining there because there would be so many interests which the British have brought into being there which I personally do not seek to destroy and in order to represent those interests and if there is also an army consisting of British troops and officers I could not possibly say "No, there will not be a British Agent." And since there are also the Princes concerned I cannot vouchsafe for what the Princes will do and, therefore, I do not expect that under the scheme I have in mind there will be no British agent there—whether he is called a Viceroy or a Governor-General. But I would defend it as a partnership having the condition that it is to be terminated at the will of either on terms of absolute equality. I am writing on a slate from which I have to rub out many things.

## OBJECTS OF COMMON PARTNERSHIP

21

*What are the common objects that such a partnership would advance ?*

The common object that the partnership is going to

advance is to cease the exploitation of the races of the earth. If India becomes free from this curse of exploitation, under which she has groaned for so many years, it would be up to India to see there is no further exploitation. Real partnership would be of mutual benefit. It would be a partnership between two races the one having been known for its manliness, bravery, courage and its unrivalled powers of organisation, and the other an ancient race possessing a culture perhaps second to none, a continent in itself. A partnership between these two people cannot but result in mutual good and be to the benefit of mankind.

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## AT OXFORD.

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We were among 50 boys (at Eton) who form the Club and rather than make a speech before them Gandhiji invited them to ask him questions and have a heart to heart chat. No fear. They had but one question, or to be precise, two questions, to ask and it looked as though they were forbidden to move out of that charmed circle. "Mr Shaulat Ali gave us the Muslim case. Will you give us the Hindu case?" said the Chairman and when Gandhiji asked them to put questions, this very question was repeated by one of the boys. What a contrast to the poor East End boys who bombarded Gandhiji with questions about his home, his dress, his sandals, and his language! But those poor folks are to be no Empire builders.

However that may be, Gandhiji took up the challenge and gave them an answer for which they were not prepared. I am giving here a bare summary.

### THE ALIEN WEDGE.

"You occupy a big place in England. Some of you will become prime ministers and generals in future and I am anxious to enter your hearts whilst your character is still being moulded and whilst it is easy yet to enter your hearts, I should place before you certain facts as opposed to the false history traditionally imparted to you. Among high officials I find ignorance, meaning not absence of knowledge but knowledge based on false data, and I want you to have true data before you as I think of you, not as Empire builders, but as members of a nation which will have ceased exploiting other nations and



become the guardian of the peace of the world, not by force of arms but by its moral strength. Well then, I tell you, that there is nothing like a Hindu case, at least so far as I am concerned, for in the matter of my country's freedom I am no more a Hindu than you are. There is a Hindu case put up by the Hindu Mahasabha representatives who claim to represent the Hindu mind, but who, in my opinion, do not do so. They will have a national solution of the question, not because they are nationalists but because it suits them. I call that destructive tactics, and am pleading with them that, representing as they do the great majority, they must step out and give to the smaller communities what they want, and the atmosphere would be as clear as if by magic. What the vast mass of Hindus feel and want nobody knows, but claiming as I do to have moved amongst them all these years, I think they do not care for these pettyfogging things, they are not troubled by the question of loaves and fishes in the shape of electoral seats and administrative posts. This bugbear of communalism is confined largely to the cities which are not India, but which are the blotting sheets of London and other Western cities which consciously or unconsciously prey upon villages and share with you in exploiting them by becoming the commission agents of England. This communal question is of no importance before the great question of Indian freedom of which the British ministers are studiously fighting shy. They forget that they cannot go on for long with a discontented rebellious India—true ours is a non-violent rebellion, but it is rebellion none the less. Freedom of India is superior to the disease which for the time is corroding some portions of the community, and if the constitutional question is satisfactorily solved the communal

distemper will immediately vanish. The moment the alien wedge is removed the divided communities are bound to unite. There is, therefore, no Hindu case, and if there is one it must go by the board. If you study this question it will profit you nothing and when you go into its exasperating details you will, very likely, prefer to see us drowned in the Thames.

## THE SPIRITUAL VS THE ANIMAL

"I am telling you God's truth when I say that the communal question does not matter and should not worry you at all. But, if you will study history, study the much bigger question—How did millions of people make up their minds to adopt non-violence and how they adhered to it? Study, not man in his animal nature, man following the law of the jungle, but study man in all his glory. Those engaged in communal squabbles are like specimens in a lunatic asylum. But study men laying down their lives, without hurting any one, in the cause of their country's freedom. Study man following the law of his higher nature, the law of love so that when you grow to manhood you will have improved your heritage. It can be no pride to you that your nation is ruling over ours. No one chained himself. And no nation kept another in subjection without herself turning into a subject nation. It is a most sinful connection, a most unnatural connection that is existing at present between England and India and I want you to bless our mission because we are naturally entitled to our freedom which is our birthright and we are doubly entitled to it by virtue of the penance and suffering we have undergone. I want you, when you grow up, to make a unique contribution

to the glory of your nation, by emancipating it from its sin of exploitation, and thus contribute to the progress of mankind "

The other question was what would happen to India with the rapacious princes when the Englishmen retire from India. Gandhiji assured the young men there was no danger from the princes but if they ran amok they were easier to deal with than Englishmen, that their very weakness would prevent them from doing any mischief, and that India's glory would lie, not in driving out the English, but in converting them from exploiters into friends, remaining there to protect India's honour in time of need

I do not know what impression the visit made on the students but, I am sure, that the intellectual shock given by the visit cannot soon be forgotten. The living counts infinitely more than knowledge by hearsay and mists of misunderstanding often roll away in the clear sunshine of affectionate contact. To give an instance of quick conversion, Miraben's Indian dress and discipleship were too much of a shock to some of the ladies there. They were not prepared to believe that she was an Englishwoman. There was bitter criticism when Miraben explained that she was not only the daughter of Admiral Slade but her great-uncle, Dr. Edmond Warre, was a distinguished Etonian and sometime Head Master of Eton. But Miraben was unruffled. She smilingly answered all questions with the result that after a couple of hours hearty chat her questioner and she were friends.

### AMONGST THE DONS.

The visit to Oxford was an important event, as there

was nothing but genuine affection and a sincere desire to understand and to get at the root of the Indian question. The Master of Balliol, Dr Lindsay, who had, whilst in India extended the invitation to Gandhiji to spend a quiet time under his roof, renewed the invitation, certainly with a view to give Gandhiji the benefit of a peaceful week-end, but more with putting him in touch with intellectual forces in Oxford. Himself free from all trace of the pride of belonging to a ruling race (in fact he is a Scot) and accepting India's freedom as her birthright, he had no difficulty in getting friends interested in the Indian question. There were several meetings and conferences. At the Master's own house there was a meeting of about 40 select friends, and there were three conferences outside with the intellectuals. Mr Thompson, the writer of the '*Other Side of the Medal*,' and who in his '*Atonement*' has visualised England atoning for her sins to India, had invited friends like Dr Gilbert Murray, Dr Gilbert Slater, Prof S Coupland and Dr Datta to have a quiet long chat with Gandhiji. The foremost among the Oxford dons and fellows had also a similar conference which was followed by one with the members of the Raleigh Club, composed mostly of Dominion students, some of them Cecil Rhodes scholars and all keen students of the Empire problem. Last, but not least, there was a meeting organised by the Indian Student's Majlis where a number of English students also had been invited.

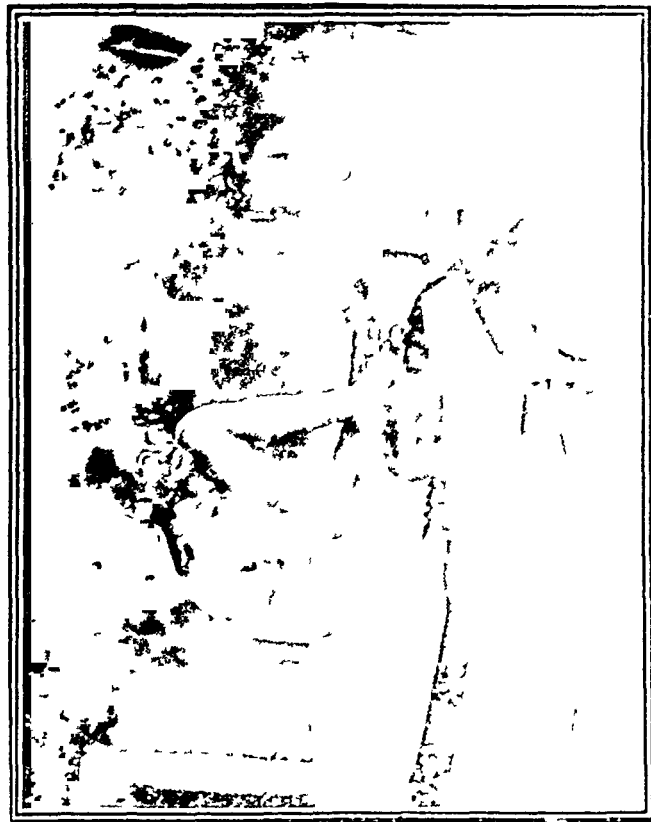
The discussion at Mr Thompson's house covered a large variety of subjects and touched some of the fundamental principles. Sir Gilbert Murray, who, it be will remembered, wrote very appreciatively of the use of soul force as against

brute force in the Hibert Journal some 13 years ago, seemed to be very much perturbed over what he thought were most dangerous manifestations of non-violent revolution and nationalism. "I find myself today in greater disagreement with you than even Mr Winston Churchill," he said. "You want co-operation between nations for the salvaging of civilisation," said Gandhiji, "I want it too, but co-operation presupposes free nations worthy of co-operation. If I am to help in creating or restoring peace and good-will and resist disturbances thereof I must have ability to do so and I cannot do so unless my country has come to its own. At the present moment, the very movement for freedom in India is India's contribution to peace. For so long as India is a subject nation, not only she is a danger to peace, but also England which exploits India. Other nations may tolerate today England's imperialist policy and her exploitation of other nations, but they certainly do not appreciate it, and they would gladly help in the prevention of England becoming a greater and greater menace every day. Of course you will say that India free can become a menace herself. But let us assume that she will behave herself with her doctrine of non-violence, if she achieves her freedom through it, and for all her bitter experience of being a victim to exploitation.

### INDIA'S UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY.

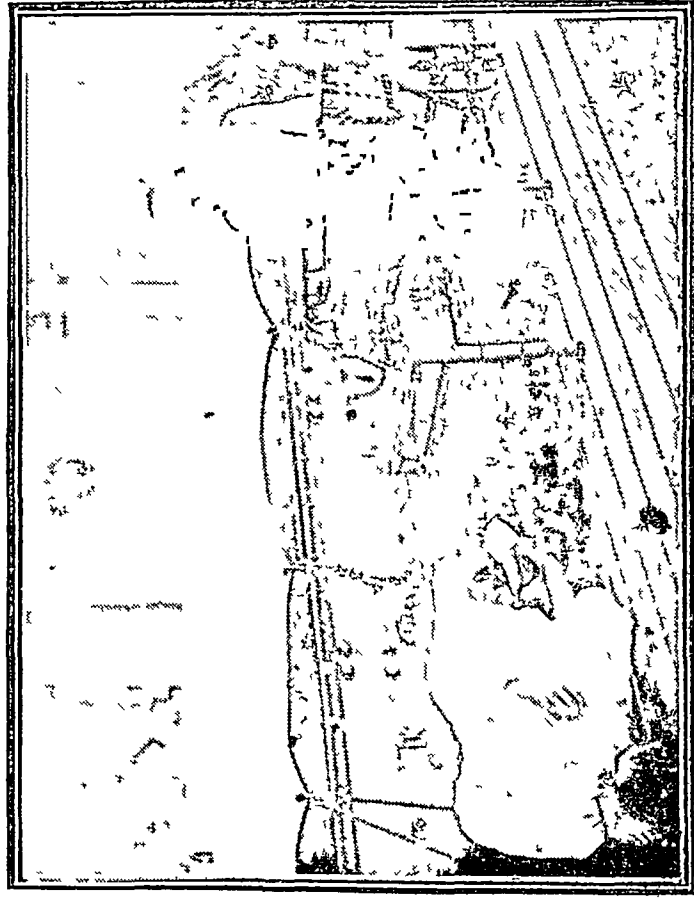
"The objection about my talking in the terms of revolution is largely answered by what I have already said about nationalism. But my movement is conditioned by one great and disturbing factor. You might of course say that there can be no non-violent rebellion and there has been none known to

## THE MANICURING PROCESS



David taking care of his father's hand

## AT THE FEET OF HER MASTER



Mahatma lying at his feet ever ready to carry out his behests

history. Well, it is my ambition to provide an instance, and it is my dream that my country may win its freedom through non-violence. And, I would like to repeat to the whole world times without number, that I will not purchase my country's freedom at the cost of non-violence. My marriage with non-violence is such an absolute thing that I would rather commit suicide than be deflected from my position. I have not mentioned truth in this connection, simply because truth cannot be expressed excepting by non-violence. So, if you accept the conception my position is sound "

Sir Gilbert's objection, as the discussion showed, was more to some reported actual manifestations of non-violent methods than to the principle itself. Whilst he was talking of boycott he was thinking of the persecution of Col. Boycott in Ireland which had resulted in his clerk committing suicide. That led to a discussion which became almost boringly abstruse and academic. But Gandhiji's position at the end may be summed up in his words. ' You may be justified in saying that I must go more warily, but if you attack the fundamentals you have to convince me. And I must tell you that the boycott may have nothing to do with nationalism even. It may be a question of pure reform, as without being intensely nationalistic, we can refuse to purchase your cloth and make our own. A reformer cannot always afford to wait. If he does not put into force his belief he is no reformer. Either he is too hasty or too afraid or too lazy. Who is to advise him or provide him with a barometer? You can only guide yourself with a disciplined conscience, and then run all the risk with the protecting armour of truth and non-violence. A reformer could not do otherwise "



We went on to the subject of the Army, and India's capacity to govern herself, and so on and so forth. Would not India wait sometime before she launched on the difficult task of self-government? If we send out our soldiers we have to be responsible for their lives, and so may it not be that the sooner you get an Indian Army the better? The Muslim community said last year in a united voice that they did not want responsibility at the centre. How are we to judge?

### FREEDOM TO ERR

To which questions Gandhiji gave replies somewhat to this effect. "The long and short of it is that you will not trust us. Well, give us the liberty to make mistakes. If we cannot handle our affairs today, who is to say when we will be able to do so? I do not want you to determine the pace. Consciously or unconsciously you adopt the role of divinity. I ask you for a moment to come down from that pedestal. Trust us to ourselves, I cannot imagine anything worse than is happening today, a whole humanity lying prostrate at the feet of a small nation.

"And what is this talk of being responsible for the lives of your soldiers? I issue a notice to all foreigners to enlist for military service in India, and if some Britishers will come, will you prevent them? If they will enlist, we should be responsible for their lives, as any other Government whom they serve would be. The key to self-government is without doubt the control of the Army.

### OUR BATTLEFIELD

"As regards a united demand, I must say, what I have

now said several times, that you cannot have a united demand from a packed Conference. It is my case that the Congress represents the largest number of Indians. The British ministers know it. If they do not know it, I must go back to my country and have as overwhelming an opinion as possible. We had a life and death struggle. One of the noblest of Englishmen tried us and did not find us wanting. In consequence he opened the jail-gates and appealed to the Congress to go to the Round Table Conference. We had long talks and negotiations during which we exercised the greatest patience and there was a settlement under which the Congress agreed to be represented on the Round Table Conference. The settlement was respected by Government more in its breach than its observance, and after much hesitation I agreed to come, if only to keep my word of honour given to that Englishman. On coming here I find that I had miscalculated the forces arrayed against India and the Congress. But that does not dismay me. I must go and qualify myself and prove by suffering that the whole country wants what it asks for. Hunter has said that success on the battlefield was the shortest cut to power. Well, we worked for success on a different battlefield. I am trying to touch your heart instead of your body. If I do not succeed this time I shall succeed next time."

The result of the discussion was that Gandhiji parted from the friends with much more common agreement than he had found when he came, and certainly with much deeper mutual understanding.

Gandhiji's stout refusal to concede separate electorates to the untouchables was one of the pet puzzles at all the gathe-

rings and he was asked to explain his attitude I reproduce the gist of what he has said at the Indian Students' Majlis, amplified by what he said about the same thing on other occasions

## UNTOUCHABLE FOR EVER १

'Muslims and Sikhs are all well organised The untouchables are not. There is very little political consciousness among them and they are so horribly treated that I want to save them against themselves If they had separate electorates their lives would be miserable in villages which are the strongholds of Hindu orthodoxy It is the superior class of Hindus who have to do penance for having neglected the untouchables for ages That penance can be done by active social reform and by making the lot of the untouchables more bearable by acts of service, but not by asking for separate electorates for them By giving them separate electorates you will throw the apple of discord between the untouchables and the orthodox You must understand I can tolerate the proposal for special representation of the Musalmans and the Sikhs only as a necessary evil It would be a positive danger for the untouchables I am certain that the question of separate electorates for the untouchable is a modern manufacture of a Satanic Government The only thing needed is to put them on the voters' list, and provide for fundamental rights for them in the constitution In case they are unjustly treated and their representative is deliberately excluded they would have the right to special Election Tribunal which would give them complete protection It should be open to these tribunals to order the unseating of an elected candidate and the election of the excluded man.

"Separate electorates to the untouchables will ensure them bondage in perpetuity. The Musalmans will never cease to be Musalmans by having separate electorates. Do you want the untouchables to remain "untouchables" for ever? Well, the separate electorates would perpetuate the stigma. What is needed is destruction of untouchability and when you have done it, the bar sinister which has been imposed by an insolent "superior" class upon an "inferior" class will be destroyed. When you have destroyed the bar sinister, to whom will you give the separate electorates? Look at the history of Europe. Have you got separate electorates for the working classes or women? With adult franchise you give the untouchables complete security. Even the orthodox Hindus would have to approach them for votes.

"How then, you ask, does Dr Ambedkar, their representative, insist on separated electorates for them? I have the highest regard for Dr Ambedkar. He has every right to be bitter. That he does not break our heads is an act of self-restraint on his part. He is to-day so very much saturated with suspicion that he cannot see anything else. He sees in every Hindu a determined opponent of the untouchables, and it is quite natural. The same thing happened to me in my early days in South Africa, where I was hounded out by the Europeans wherever I went. It is quite natural for him to vent his wrath. But the separate electorates that he seeks will not give him social reform. He may himself mount to power and position but nothing good will accrue to the untouchables. I can say all this with authority having lived with the untouchables and having shared their joys and sorrows all these years."

## BRITAIN'S HERITAGE.

It was essentially a students' meeting and they asked all variety of questions. Some of them were characteristic of the Indian students in England.

"Do you still believe in the good faith of England?" Was one of the questions which elicited a reply that they will remember for all time

"I believe in the good faith of England," said Gandhiji 'to the extent that I believe in the good faith of human nature. I believe that the sum total of the energy of mankind is not to bring us down but to lift us up, and that is the result of the definite, if unconscious, working of the law of love. The fact that mankind persists shows that the cohesive force is greater than the disruptive force, centripetal force greater than centrifugal. And inasmuch as I know only of the poetry of love, you should not be surprised that I trust the English people. I have often been bitter and I have often said to myself 'When will this camouflage end? When will these people cease to exploit the poor people?' But instinctively I get the reply 'That is the heritage that they have had from Rome.' I must conduct myself in accordance with the dictates of the law of love, hoping and expecting in the long run to affect the English nature."

## INDUSTRIALISM.

*What is your view about the industrialisation of India?*

Industrialism is, I am afraid going to be a curse for mankind. Exploitation of one nation by another cannot go on for

all time Industrialism depends entirely on your capacity to exploit, on foreign markets being open to you and on the absence of competitors. It is because these factors are getting less and less every day for England that its number of unemployed is mounting up daily. The Indian boycott was but a flea-bite. And if that is the state of England, a vast country like India cannot expect to benefit by industrialisation. In fact, India when it begins to exploit other nations—as it must if it becomes industrialized—will be a curse for other nations, a menace to the world. And why should I think of industrialising India to exploit other nations? Don't you see the tragedy of the situation, *viz*, that we can find work for our 300 millions unemployed but England can find none for its three millions and is faced with a problem that baffles the greatest intellects of England? The future of industrialism is dark. England has got successful competitors in America, Japan, France, and Germany. It has competitors in the handful of mills in India, and as there has been an awakening in India, even so there will be an awakening in South Africa with its vastly richer resources—natural, mineral and human. The mighty English look quite pigmies before the mighty races of Africa. They are noble savages after all, you will say. They are certainly noble, but no savages, and in the course of a few years the Western nations may cease to find in Africa a dumping ground for their wares. And if the future of industrialism is dark for the West, would it not be darker still for India?

### THE CIVIL SERVANT

*What do you think of the I C S ?*

The I C S is not really the Indian Civil Service,

it is the E. C. S., the English Civil Service. I say this knowing that there are Indians in the Service Whilst India is a subject nation they cannot but serve the interests of England. But supposing India secures freedom and supposing able Englishmen are prepared to be servants of India, then they would be truly national servants At the present time, under the name of I C S they serve the exploiting Government In a free India, Englishmen will come out to India either in a spirit of adventure, or from penance and willingly serve on a small salary and put up with the rigours of Indian climate instead of being a burden on poor India whilst they draw inordinately large salaries and try to live there in extra English extravagance and reproduce even the English climate We would have them as honoured comrades, but if there is even a lurking desire to lord it over us and behave as superior race, they are not wanted

## INDIA AND THE EMPIRE

*Do you say that you are completely fit for independence?*

If we are not, we will try to be But the question of fitness does not arise, for the simple reason that those who have robbed us of independence have to render it back Supposing you repented of your conduct, you can express your repentance only by leaving us alone

*But why not Dominion Status? The fact is that the English understand what Dominion Status means They don't know what is partnership, whereas Dominion Status means very nearly what you want Why not accept it, if it is offered, as the Irish accepted the Free State status of their own accord! Does your partnership mean anything more than that?*

Present the case to me, let me examine the contents and if I find the Dominion Status that you present is the same thing as independence, I shall accept it at once. But I must throw the burden of proving it on those who say that Dominion Status is the same as independence.

The talk with the members of the Raleigh Club was most absorbing, inasmuch as the members were all students from the Dominions, saturated with the Empire idea and keen students of politics. Every question was straight and to the point and I am tempted to transcribe a large part of the talk.

*How far would you cut India off from the Empire?*

From the Empire entirely, from the British nation not at all, if I want India to gain and not to grieve. The British Empire is an Empire only because of India. That Emperorship must go and I should love to be equal partner with Britain sharing her joys and sorrows and be an equal partner with all Dominions. But it must be a partnership on equal terms.

*To what extent would India be prepared to share the sorrows of England?*

To the fullest extent.

*Do you think India would unite her fortunes inextricably with England?*

2

Yes, so long as she remains a partner. But if she discovers that the partnership is like one between a giant and a dwarf, or if it is utilised for exploitation of the other races of the earth, she would dissolve it. The aim is the common



good of all nations of the earth, and if it cannot be achieved I have patience enough to wait for ages rather than patch up an unreal partnership

*How would you distinguish exploitation from trading with a nation ?*

There are two tests (1) The other nation must want our goods which should in no case be dumped on it against her will

(2) The trade should not be backed by the navy And whilst in this connection I may say that when you realise what wrong has been done by England to nations like us Indians, you will not sing *Britannia rules the waves* with any kind of pride Things, in English Readers, which are matters for pride today will have to be matters for shame, and you will have to cease to take any pride over the defeat or humiliation of other nations

*How far is the British attitude towards the communal question an obstacle in your path ?*

Largely, or I should say half and half There has been consciously or unconsciously that policy of divide and rule working here as in India The British officials have sometimes coquetted with one party, sometimes with another Of course, if I were a British official, I would probably do the same and take advantage of dissensions to consolidate the rule Our share of responsibility lies in the fact that we fall easy victims to the game

*You think the British Government should suggest a solution of the communal question ?*

No But I am the only party to say no It is a humiliating thing and neither the Congress nor I can be party to it But I have suggested a judicial tribunal There are some committals on the side of Government in Government of India and Provincial Government despatches though all Government solutions are tinged by political considerations As for us, each party, though talking of justice, fights shy of arbitration, which shows that there is a good deal of expediency and it is a question of degree who is wrong and who is right The Judicial Tribunal can certainly be trusted to adjudicate between the various claims

They may be non-Hindu and non-Muslim judges of the Indian High Courts or judges from the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council

There can be no question of accepting the decision of a Court I may confess that there is a trick at the back of the suggestion If Government will play the game and adopt my suggestion, the whole atmosphere will change and before the Judicial Committee comes into being the communities will come out with a solution For, there is sufficient material in the advances already made to satisfy the politically minded, and each one knows the flaws in his own claim

We returned from Oxford with the happiest of memories, the most vivid among them being of our hosts Dr Lindsay and Mrs Lindsay It happened that Gandhiji,

during one of these talks had occasion to refer to General Dyer and the crawling lane. The audience was so sympathetic that the mere narration sent a thrill of horror among some of them. At the end of the meeting Mrs Lindsay came to Gandhiji and sweetly said "We will crawl on our bellies fifty times, Mr Gandhi, if you think that will be sufficient expiation." "No," said Gandhiji, "you need not. I do not want anyone to do it. You or I would do it fifty times voluntarily. But let me try to force an English girl to crawl on her belly. She would give me a lick and she would be perfectly justified. I simply wanted to give you an instance of frightfulness. The only expiation that is needed is for Englishmen to remain as servants, not as masters." As one, who has thought and written on the problems of democracy, the Master of Balliol is naturally cautious about the future of a free India and is most anxious to avoid a catastrophe, if at all possible. But should a catastrophe arise, and should it partake of the character of exclusive self-suffering, as any campaign led by Gandhiji would be, I have no doubt that Dr Lindsay's sympathies would be wholly on our side.

### WITH COL MADDOCK

Col Maddock about whom Gandhiji inquired as soon as he came to England, found Gandhiji out one day, called on him and pressed him to visit his home near Reading. "My wife has some beautiful flowers and fruits and vegetables for you. You must pay us a visit," he said. Fortunately his place was very near Reading, which we had to pass on our way from Eton to Oxford and Gandhiji

agreed. It was a great joy both to the Maddocks and Gandhiji to meet after seven years, and Gandhiji gratefully said 'But for your husband's skilful operation I should not have been here to greet you'. For me it was a privilege to see Col Maddock in the evening of his life, doing research work, as energetically as a youth of twenty and absorbed in a wonderful variety of interests. He is an expert gardener, has a beautiful garden with all kinds of flower and fruit trees on which he makes all sorts of experiments. He is equally interested in dairying and in his research into the causes of tuberculosis among cows he has made curious experiments on the grass that the cows eat. He has spent days on end on experimenting on the microbes that produce that finest butter, succeeded in doing so, but found that it was not an economic proposition. He produces his own gas, for household use, from petrol and is absolutely immersed in work. "Mr Gandhiji, you do not look at all older than when I saw you in Poona," Mrs Maddock had said. Well I may say too that Col Maddock did not look older than he was in Poona. Perhaps he looked younger, as he was now free from the trammels of office and free to follow pursuits after his own heart. How I wish all could make so rich a use of their time after retirement as Col Maddock is making.

### SPOONFED BRITISH PUBLIC

It was very good of Mr Horrabin and Krishna Menon to have thought of having a reception in Gandhiji's honour under the Commonwealth of India League. Mr Horrabin promised enthusiastic support of the League in India's demand for Swaraj and asked Gandhiji to tell them how most usefully

they could give that support    Gandhiji's one message was : spread correct and accurate knowledge of India and let it replace the false history on which British Public was nurtured. The way in which the British press were deliberately pursuing a policy of *suppressio veri* and *suggestio falsi* he forcibly illustrated by the brutalities in Chittagong and Hijli and the attempts on the lives of Messrs. Villiers and Durno. While the atrocious deeds in Chittagong and Hijli, which made the old and ailing poet to leave his seclusion and stirred him to righteous indignation, were only just mentioned in the British press, they were quite keen on showing that the detenus were a bad lot, that they are responsible for such attempts and deserve to be shot. "Now," said he, "both these attempts are deplorable and disgraceful and for me most embarrassing I do not mind their being made much of. But if you make much of them, why not also make much of the horrors perpetrated in Chittagong and Hijli ? There is the inexorable law of cause and effect. There are these youths imprisoned on suspicion, without trial, for an indefinite period. They are crushed and suppressed, some of their friends run amok, and indulge in acts of vengeance. No one is likely to condemn these deeds more than I for I hate violence on either sides but selfishly more on my side because it interrupts my work. That they are no Congressmen is true but that is no answer for me. They are Indians and it shows that the Congress is not able to control their activities and cannot prevent them from their mad career. But there is this other aspect of the case, which must not be missed. In a vast continent like India the surprise is that there are so few anarchical outrages, for, barbarities like those in Chittagong and Hijli would, in any

other country, give rise to widespread open rebellion I ask the newspapers to go in for the whole truth Instead there is a conspiracy of silence and incorrect or incomplete accounts of incidents "

The appeal went home and Rev Beldon moved a resolution urging the British press to realise the necessity of publishing full and correct facts and warning it that suppression of facts is a grave wrong both to India and England Rev Beldon made a stirring speech in moving the resolution and assured Gandhiji that should Satyagraha be undertaken in India there would be a companion Satyagraha movement in England The representatives of the reactionary press could not brook all this and protested that the resolution was a libel on the British press One of them even went to the length of asserting that Gandhiji would not give them news though their company had approached him with an offer to have a moving and talking picture of him ! This friend delivered the others up into Gandhiji's hands and, to the utter discomfiture of them all, he said "Well with the friend who spoke last it is more a business proposition than anything else To the others I make a sporting offer Here am I to give them an accurate resume of all the happenings in Chittagong and Hijli Would they publish it ? Another sporting offer Whilst I am here I get for them, without expecting any payment, news flashed here from India from day to day Would they publish the news ?" There was silence, voices of protests were heard no more and the resolution passed with those two or three dissentients

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## AT CAMBRIDGE.

If the Oxford professors were troubled over the justification of the Congress claim to represent India, the Cambridge ones were worried about India recklessly cutting herself adrift from England and the Empire. Why talk of independence and rub England up the wrong way? Has British rule in India done nothing but harm? Look at China with her national Government. Is not India under British rule ever so much better than China under self-rule? If British soldiers will not serve under a non-British Government, why not in the interests of peace accept a transition stage? Is the situation so desperate that if complete control cannot be achieved India should sacrifice a million lives? And so on and so forth. There were the elite of the University world gathered together under the roof of the Master of Pembroke to understand the Indian case from Gandhiji and to see how and to what extent they could help. There were professors like Mr Ellis Barker, whose studies of Ancient and Medieval polity are well known, savant like Mr. Lowes Dickinson, whose study of the Eastern question, pacific tendencies, we in India also, are familiar with, ripe theological scholars like Dr John Murray and Dr. Baker. There was also Mr. Evelyn Wrench of the "Spectator" eager to hit upon something which may be acceptable to England and India and to avoid a clash between the two.

With all deference to their studies, and their breadth of outlook, and above all to their earnest desire to understand and help, I am afraid, no one, whether in Oxford or Cambridge,

## ON WAY TO DANDI



During his march to Dandi Mahatma used to  
put on a wet packing on his forehead — Mark  
his smiling face in spite of the fatigue



WITH HIS FAITHFUL DISCIPLES



Mahatmayi with Mna Ben and Sgt Pyarelal.

seems to appreciate the truth of Henry Campbell Bannerman's great maxim "Good government is no substitute for self-government" They discuss the moralities of the problem and the equities and expedencies in all their aspect, but no one appreciates that that bedrock truth is the starting point of all these discussions Having said this, I shall sum up what Gandhiji had to say on the various questions raised

### A FREE INDIA AND PARTNERSHIP

"The partnership has to be on equal terms It should not be "subjection" in glorified language That means that the present relationship must be completely transformed though the connection may be retained and that connection should be wholly and solely for the benefit of mankind India by herself has no capacity to exploit the nations of the earth, but with Great Britain's assistance she can do it Now the partnership must mean that exploitation shall cease, and if Great Britain should not desist from it, India should sever the connection All that is wanted is a fundamental change in the British policy of exploitation Britain cannot thereafter boast that she has a strong navy guarding the maritime highways and all her overseas commerce

"What about the South African possessions? I would not insist on a transformation of Britain's relation with them, as a condition precedent to our partnership But I should certainly strive to work for the deliverance of those South African races which, I can say from experience, are ground down under exploitation Our deliverance must mean their deliverance. But, if that cannot come about, I should have no

interest in a partnership with Britain, even if it were of benefit to India. Speaking for myself, I would say that the partnership, giving the promise of a world set free from exploitation, would be a proud privilege for my nation and I would maintain it for ever. But India cannot reconcile herself in any shape or form to any policy of exploitation and speaking for myself, I may say that if ever the Congress should adopt an imperial policy I should sever my connection with the Congress.

“But would not the Congress be satisfied with a status equal to South Africa or Canada, for the time being at any rate? I see the danger of saying “Yes”. If you visualise a higher or superior status towards which we have then to work I should say “no”. But if it is a status beyond which we have not to aspire I should say “yes”. It would be a status which the ordinary man in the street should understand to be a radically different status from the present. I would, therefore, not accept a transition period during which we may have to be satisfied with a state lower than the best.

“But what about the Princes? They do not want independence? I know they don't, and they cannot, as they are the mouth-piece of British Government. But there are others too who think that they cannot live except under the protection of British arms. For me, I cannot accept any thing short of a complete control of the army. If all other leaders of the land were to accept a compromise on the army question, I would say I would rather stay out, but would not resist it and make a call to the people to suffer. If there were such a large step taken which would ultimately and quickly lead to the final thing I would tolerate it, though I would not endorse it.

"But, if you say the British units will never serve under the National Government, it would mean to me a fatal objection to any connection with Great Britain. We do not want, we cannot possibly tolerate, an army of occupation. No scheme of Indianisation can serve any useful purpose inasmuch as until the last moment the command will be British, and the same doubts about our capacity to take over charge will be expressed as are expressed to-day. The real responsible Government can come when Britishers begin to trust India and her ability. Chaos can be got over only when Britain has a living conviction that it has done wrong to India and should now, by way of undoing the wrong, keep British troops at the disposal of Indian ministers. You are afraid that British soldiers may be cut to pieces under the foolish orders of Indian ministers. Well, I ask you not to forget that during the Boer War there came a time when British Generals were described in England as asses and British soldiers as heroes. If British General erred, Indian ministers too may err. The Indian ministers would certainly discuss everything with the Commander-in-Chief and other military experts, but the final authority and responsibility will certainly have to be the ministers'. Let the Commander-in-Chief then resign or obey.

"The idea of my paying for freedom by blood startles you. Well, I who claim to know the conditions of India through and through know that India is dying by inches. The land revenue exactions mean morsels forcibly taken out of the mouths of the peasants' children. It is an indescribable agony through which the peasant is passing. In order to put that condition right a transition stage is not the remedy. Do the

British Government understand transition as I mean? Would they keep the British soldiers to help us, i.e. only in our interests? If so, we would have them and pay them according to our means. But, if the position honestly held is that we are incapable, and the control should not be relaxed, then, if God wills it we must go through the purgatory. I have not talked of rivers of other people's blood flowing, for I know that the party of violence is dying out. But I have talked of Ganges full of our own blood—a pure voluntary act of self-immolation to face the situation. It would be good for India to go through that purgatory if it must. Personally, I do not think there can be such communal riots as you fear. Ninety per cent of the population of India is rural and the strife is confined only to the ten per cent urban population. I would count that bloodshed as of no consequence beside this slow ignominious death which carries no glory with it. This of course assumes that India is being starved to death by having to pay the phenomenal expenditure for a foreign army of occupation and the most expensive civil service in the world. Even Japan, which is armed to the teeth, does not pay for her army to the extent that we have to do.

‘ My quarrel with you is this. I know that every honest Englishman wants to see India free, but is it not tragic for them to feel that the moment British arms are removed there would be invasions and internecine strife? Well, as against that, my contention is that it is the British presence that is the cause of internal chaos, because, you have ruled India according to the principle of divide and rule. Because of your benevolent intentions you feel that the harrow does not hurt

the toad In the nature of things, it cannot but hurt It is not that you are in India in response to our invitation You must realise that there is sullen discontent everywhere and everyone says "we do not want foreign rule" And why this over anxiety about how we would fare without you Go to the pre-British period History does not record a larger number of Hindu-Muslim riots In fact, the history of my own times shows a darker record The fact is that the British arms are powerless to prevent riots, though they are powerful enough to punish the guilty and the innocent We hear of no riots in the reign of even Aurungzeb As for the invasions the worst invasion left the villages untouched They were a periodic visitation of the plague If to avoid that kind of plague, which after all may be a cleansing process, we should have to maintain an army of doctors and starve ourselves to pay for them, we would far rather have the cleansing process Take the occasional in-roads of tigers and lions Would we submit to the erection of castles and fortresses at the expense of millions of rupees rather than fight the beasts straight and take the risk? Pardon me, we are not such a nation of absolute cowards, who would always run away from risk Better that we were wiped off the face of the earth than remain alive sustained by foreign bayonets No, you must trust us to know how to patch up our quarrels and to deal with invasions India, which has survived many invasions, and showed a culture and a civilisation unsurpassed by any on earth, need not be pitied and kept in cotton wool "

I have simply condensed several hours' talk into these few paragraphs Not that there were not many other ques-

tions discussed, but I have mentioned the main thing which was the subject of discussion. The friends were good enough to give a patient hearing and promised to carry on the discussion with a view to being able to suggest some solution, which could be presented to the British Ministers.

There was the utmost friendliness and sympathy as in Oxford, and the desire to understand and help uppermost in the mind of everyone. I am tempted to cite one instance. The question of India's readiness to be treated as a 'Dominion or a daughter nation' was being discussed. Some of the friends said that it should not be difficult for India to be satisfied with what is called Dominion Status. Mrs Hutchinson said "India's position cannot, in the nature of things, be like Canada or South Africa. Have we ever treated her as 'a daughter' nation? The Dominions are natural links, they have grown out of the mother country. How can India be described as such, a colony or a link? And Gandhiji gratefully said, "Mrs Hutchinson, you have hit the mark."

At the Indian Majlis, I must confess that the most intelligent questions were asked by the English boys rather than the Indian boys. The ignorant questions were common to both. The Minorities' question came up, and evoked from Gandhiji the following striking explanation. "Don't think that paralysis has possessed the Hindu, Muslim and Sikh masses in India. Had it been the case I should not have been here to represent the biggest organisation in India. But the stupidity is confined to the present company." The boys roared with laughter, as Gandhiji capped the last remark with the explana-

tion "Present company meaning not this house but the Indian delegates in the Round Table Conference, including of course myself" An ignorant question from the English boys, *viz*, 'why does not the unemployed rural population go to the towns and join some industry?' elicited a witty reply Even the Royal Commission on Agriculture did not suggest this remedy "

But amidst this roaring laughter the real message was not lost, as Gandhiji described to them in detail the "scientific scorching of a whole race under the British rule" Indeed, an English friend at the meeting, who was about to join the army and expecting to leave for India a fortnight hence, asked 'Could you please tell us how an Englishman going to India can cooperate with Indians and serve India?' To whom Gandhiji said 'Well, the first thing he should do is to see Charlie Andrews and ask him what he did and what he has gone through to serve India He has dedicated every minute of his life to the service of India, and done the work of several thousand Englishmen Let the Englishman, therefore, have his first lessons from him Then he must know, not with a view to teach, but to learn how to serve India, and if he approaches his task in that spirit he will certainly teach But in doing so he will efface himself and merge himself with the Indians, as for instance, Mr Stokes has done in Simla Hills Let them all identify themselves, and try to help them What can not real love do? Let all those who are fired with love for India certainly go to India They are needed there."

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## IN LANCASHIRE

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In some of the manufacturing areas of Lancashire the manufacturers concentrated on cotton fabrics exclusively for export to India. "We were prepared for courtesy, which we expect from all gentlemen, we were even prepared for a little bitterness which distress and misunderstanding often creates, but we found instead a warmth of affection for which we were not prepared. I shall treasure the memory of these days to the end of my earthly existence." In these words Gandhiji summed up his gratefulness for having been given the opportunity of meeting the Lancashire employers and working people. The warmth of reception could only be equalled by what Gandhiji has been familiar with in the towns and villages of India. There were no public meetings, but what was better was a heart to heart chat with various groups of employers and employed who placed before Gandhiji all the facts in their possession, and even at the risk of having to repeat the same reply in substance, Gandhiji met all groups and declined to interview none.

### THE CAUSE OF THE DISTRESS

After having given all of them a patient hearing it was no happiness to Gandhiji to tell them that he could bring them very little comfort. They had come with great expectations perhaps, but Gandhiji had, with great sorrow, to make it clear to them that he was called to undertake a task to which he and his country were unequal. "My nationalism is not so narrow that I should not feel for your distress or

gloat over it I do not want my country's happiness at the sacrifice of any other country's happiness But whilst I see that you are hard hit, I am afraid, your distress is not largely due to India Conditions have been bad for some years and the boycott came only as the last straw " He said at Springvale Garden Village " There is not boycott of British cloth, as distinguished from other foreign cloth, since the 5th March when the truce was signed As a nation we are pledged, to boycott all foreign cloth, but in case of an honourable settlement between England and India, *i e*, in case of a permanent peace, I should not hesitate to give preference to Lancashire cloth to all other foreign cloth, to the extent that we may need to supplement our cloth and on agreed terms But how much relief that can give you, I do not know You must recognise that all the markets of the world are now not open to you What you have done, all other nations are doing today Even Indian mills would be producing more and more cloth every day You, surely, will not want me to restrict Indian enterprise for the sake of Lancashire "

23 "I am pained," he said, "at the unemployment here But there is no starvation or semi-starvation here In India we have both If you went to the villages of India you would find utter despair in the eyes of the villagers, you would find half-starved skeletons, living corpses If India could revive them by putting life and food into them in the shape of work, India would help the world Today India is a curse There is a party in my country which would sooner see an end to the lives of these half-starved millions in order that the rest may live I thought of a humane method and that was to give them work with

which they were familiar, which they could do in their cottages, which required no great investment in implements and of which the product could be easily sold. This is a task which is worthy of the attention even of Lancashire "

"But look at these mills which were busy hives only the other day lying absolutely idle In Blackburn, Darwen, Great Harwood and Accrington over a hundred mills have had to close down. In the Great Harwood area nothing less than 17,436 looms are idle

"We took special training at Colleges in weaving Indian textiles, we are weaving exclusively *dhoties* for India, and why should we not make them today and bring about better relations between India and England ? " said some of the employers

"We helped India during the famine of 1897-99 We collected money for the poor and sent it to them We have always stood for a liberal policy Why should the boycott be directed against us ? " said some of the working people Some of them placed their individual grievances before Gandhiji. The most pathetic of them all was the following

"I am a cotton operative I have been a weaver for 40 years and now I am without work It is not want or distress that worries me My estimate of myself is gone I have fallen in my own estimate inasmuch as I am a recipient of unemployment dole I do not think I am going to finish my life with any self-respect "

## THE UNVARNISHED TRUTH

At Hayes Farm, which is a rest house in Yorkshire for

the employers, and the prosperous among the employees who might care to spend a weekend there, several deputations of unemployed people waited upon Gandhiji with very nearly the same tale and the brethren in the rest house had a special service where they prayed for the will of God to prevail. It was impossible for Gandhiji to disguise his feelings. "I would be untrue to you, I would be a false friend if I were not frank with you," said Gandhiji and poured out his heart before them for three quarters of an hour—describing how economics and ethics and politics were in his life inextricably mixed up, how he had raised the banner of truth above everything else, how he had refrained from wedding himself to the results, how he was led to place the spinning wheel before the country and how the world conditions had driven them to the present state of things. "I strove with Lord Irwin last March for the liberty to boycott liquor and foreign cloth. He suggested that I might give up this boycott for three months as a gesture and then resume it. I said I could not give it up for three minutes. You have three million unemployed, but we have nearly three hundred million unemployed and underemployed for half the year. Your average unemployment dole is 70 shillings. Our average income is seven shillings and six pence a month. That operative was right in saying that he was falling in his own estimation. I do believe it is a debasing thing for a human being to remain idle and to live on doles. Whilst conducting a strike I would not brook the strikers remaining idle for a single day and got them to break stones or carry sand and work in public streets asking my own co-workers to join them in that work. Imagine, therefore, what a calamity it must be to have 300 million unemployed several millions becoming

degraded everyday for want of employment, devoid of self-respect, devoid of faith in God I dare not take before them the message of God I may as well place before the dog over there the message of God as before those hungry millions who have no lustre in their eyes and whose only God is their bread I can take before them a message of God only by taking the message of sacred work before them It is good enough to talk of God whilst we are sitting here after a nice breakfast and looking forward to a nicer luncheon, but how am I to talk of God to the millions who have to go without two meals a day? To them God can only appear as bread and butter Well, the peasants of India were getting their bread from their soil I offered them the spinning wheel in order that they may get butter, and if I appear to-day before the British public in my loin-cloth it is because I have come as the sole representative of those half-starved, half-naked, dumb millions We have prayed that we may bask in the presence of God's sunshine I tell you it is impossible to do so whilst millions are knocking at your door Even in your misery you are comparatively happy I do not grudge that happiness I wish well to you, but do not think of prospering on the tombs of the poor millions of India I do not want for India an isolated life at all, but I do not want to depend on any country for my food and clothing Whilst we may devise means for tiding over the present crisis, I must tell you that you should cherish no hope of reviving the old Lancashire trade It is impossible I cannot religiously help in the process Supposing, I have suddenly stopped breathing, and am helped by artificial respiration for a while and begin to breathe again, must I, for ever depend on artificial respiration and refuse to use my own

lungs again? No it would be suicidal I must try to strengthen my own lungs and live on my own resources You must pray to God that India may strengthen her lungs Do not attribute your misery to India Think of the world forces that are powerfully working against you See things in the dry light of reason '

And later Gandhiji said

" Pray tell me what I am to do with a fifth of the human race living on the verge of starvation and devoid of all sense of self-respect It should occupy the attention even of unemployed Lancashire You have told us of the help Lancashire gave us during the famine of 1899-1900 What return can we render but the blessings of the poor? I have come to give you fair trade But, if I go without giving it, it will not be through any fault of mine There is no bitterness in me I claim fellowship with the lowest of animals Why not then with Englishmen with whom we have been bound, for good or ill, for over a century and amongst whom I claim some of my dearest friends? You will find me an easy proposition, but if you will repel my advances I shall go away, not in bitterness, but with a sense that I was not pure enough to find a lodgment in your hearts "

## FOREIGN CLOTH BOYCOTT

The talk with the employers at Edgeworth was most friendly and carried on in a most dispassionate spirit It is there that Gandhiji forcibly brought out the economic nature of the foreign cloth boycott

*Is it possible to divorce boycott for a political purpose from boycott for an economic purpose ?*

When the sole object was that of punishing Britain, as in 1930, when people preferred articles of American or German make to those of British make—it was avowedly of political purpose. Even British machinery was then boycotted. But now the original economic boycott remains. You may call it boycott but it is an entirely educative effort at a self-purificatory endeavour. It is an appeal to go back to our former calling, shake off idleness and earn a living, however poor, not on doles but by the sweat of their brow.

*But the political aspect would be there in as much as you would give preference to your mills over all other foreign articles.*

The boycott was not undertaken on behalf of the mills. In fact, it was the first constructive effort begun with our quarrel with the local mill-owners, and though the mill-owners are supporting our movement, they are not controlling our policy, but we are trying to influence them. And when we go out to the villages we do not ask them to wear Indian mill cloth, we ask them to wear Khadi or to make their own Khadi and every Congressman is expected to wear Khadi.

*Whatever you may say, you are in for more political power, which you are bound to get, and as soon as you get it, these millowners, in the unscrupulousness of their greed, will build huge tariff walls and be a graver danger to your villages than even the Lancashire Cotton trade*

If I am still living then, and if such a catastrophe happens, I make bold to say that the mills will be destroyed in the process. And, with real political power, universal adult suffrage will come and it will be impossible for the monied classes to crush the interests of poor villagers.

*Don't you think people themselves will go back to mill-cloth as the Americans are going back to liquor?*

No. In America, Prohibition was a mighty weapon used by a powerful nation against an unwilling people. People were accustomed to drinking. Drink was fashionable. In India, mill cloth was never a fashion, whereas Khadi has become a fashion and a passport to respectable society. And, whatever happens I shall fight on for the economic salvation of my people and that, you will agree, is worth living for and dying for.

*It will be an unequal fight. The rapacity of economic competition will carry everything before it.*

God, you say, has suffered defeat at the hand of Mammon and will continue to do. Well, He will not suffer defeat in India.

Mr Grey, the Chairman of the Cotton Spinners and Manufacturers' Association, who carried on a large part of this interesting conversation, agreed that the distress was more felt because they were thinking of a most concentrated area. Whereas he said in this area of Blackburn, 50 per cent of unemployment was due to India, in his own area Burnely only 15 per cent was due to India. He also agreed that many of the

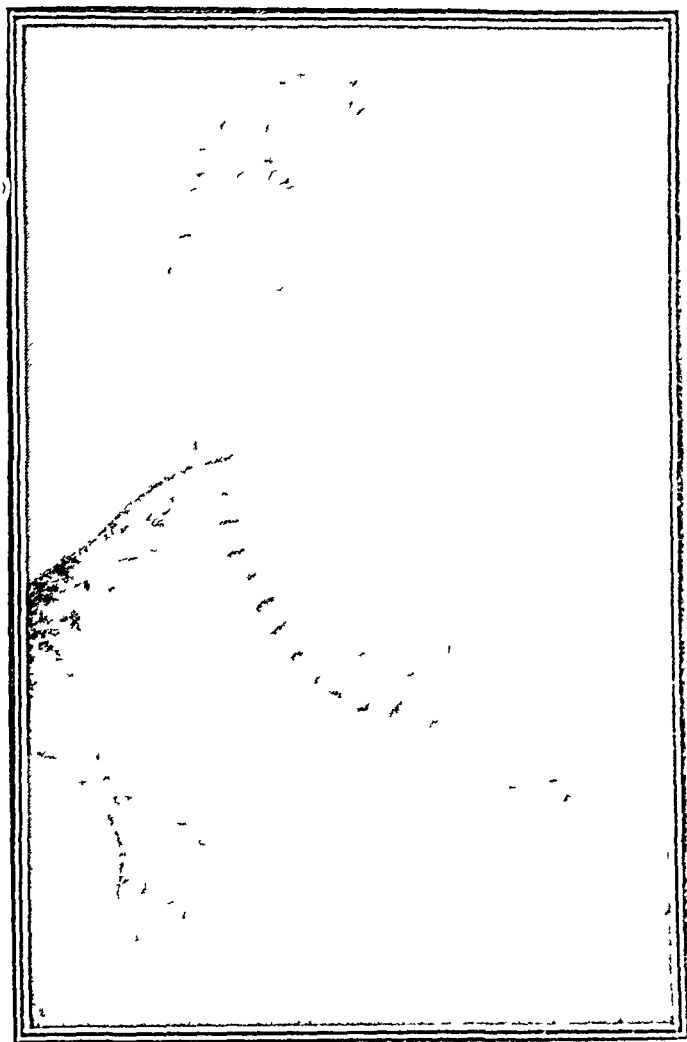


mills had been closed down before the boycott of the British goods was declared by the Congress and that a large part of the distress was due to world conditions and he also agreed that even a complete lifting of the boycott was not going to relieve the distress considerably.

## POVERTY IN ENGLAND & INDIA.

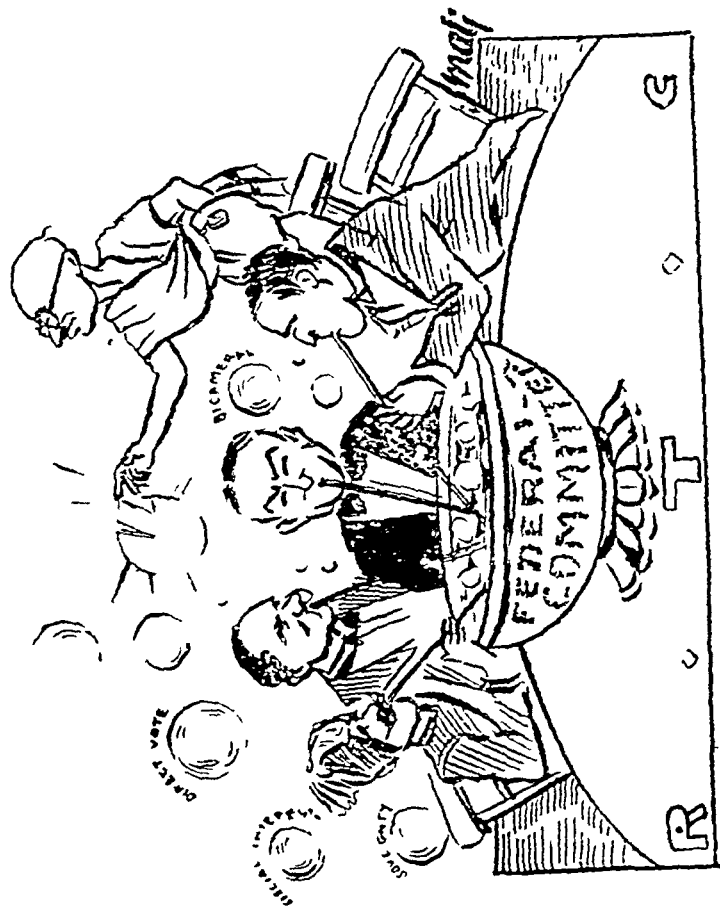
The unemployed working men, who saw Gandhiji, were in no bitter mood. On the contrary, they asked questions about the agricultural conditions in India, why the agriculturist had no work for six months in the year, why the standard of living was so poor and so on and so forth. The question with them as they frankly put it, was not of starvation but lowered-standard of living, where they could spend a shilling they have to be satisfied with six pence, and whilst many of them can save nothing at all, many had to live on their savings. The rate of their present dole is 17/- male, 15/- female ( 9/- for wife if not a worker ) and 2/- for each child per week. "This" said Gandhiji, "is a fortune, and for you, a resourceful race, it should not be difficult to hit upon other industries and occupations. For my starving crores, I have no other occupation. If some of your experts can find it I am prepared to substitute it for the spinning wheel. In the meanwhile, I can hold out to you no more hope than this, that an independent India, as an equal partner of Great Britain, will give preference to Lancashire cloth, which India needs and which Lancashire alone can produce, over all foreign cloth."

Poor comfort this, but as they left I found no bitterness in them. One of them said 'Something good cannot but



Who is chief organizer of the Seva Dal  
recruiting women Soldiers  
for the National Army

# PRICKING THE BUBBLES!



Mahatma Spoils Big Boys' Play

come out of this And, if nothing good, no evil can come out, and good-will certainly is the immediate result We understand each other now It is a privilege to have seen Mr Gandhi, a mighty force thrown up by awakening East ' Another said ' I am one of the unemployed, but if I was in India I would say the same thing that Mr Gandhi is saying "

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## AT WOODBROOKE SETTLEMENT.

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It was a great meeting representing various institutions that they had in the Woodbrooke Hall

"Whereas," said Gandhiji addressing the gathering "to other places I have gone as a matter of business, to deliver my message, I have come here as a matter of pilgrimage I have come as a matter of pilgrimage because this Settlement it was that spared and sent Mr. Horace Alexander to us at a time when we were in need of a friend It was a time when news of Satyagraha could not be transmitted from India—everything that was sent was censored, the principal men were all in jail. It was then that the Friends came to the conclusion that a mission should be sent out to India and Mr Alexander was chosen for the purpose Not only were you able to spare him but his wife, a cripple, spared him Now you will understand why it is a pilgrimage for me to come here

### DUTY OF BRITISH PUBLIC

"With regard to the work before me, I did not think I should take your time to describe it to you now. The vast majority of the people now know what the Indian National Congress claims for the nation You know what means we have adopted, perhaps, for the first time in history, to achieve our independence And you also know how far the nation during the last year was able to live up to its creed I would like to emphasise upon you the fact that if the work that is now being done at the Round Table Conference is to bear

fruit it will do so only if the pressure of intelligent public opinion is brought to bear upon it. I have often remarked that my true work in England lies outside the Conference, and in the Conference. In my few public speeches I have not hesitated to throw out a hint that no work was being done in the Conference, that it was marking time and that precious time of those who had come from India and those who were representing British interests in the Conference was being wasted. That being my opinion, I cannot be too insistent that responsible leaders of public opinion in the British Isles should inform themselves of the true nature of the struggle that Indians are carrying on against heavy odds. For, unless you understand the true nature and its inner meaning of this struggle, you will not be able to bring effective pressure to bear on those who are conducting the affairs of the state here.

"I know enough of the composition of this meeting to know that you are all earnest seekers after truth and anxious to do the right, not only especially with regard to this, but any cause that deserves the assistance of human beings. And if you will approach this question from this standpoint it is just likely that the deliberations of the Round Table Conference might prove fruitful."

### DIVIDE AND RULE.

One of the questions that were put to Gandhiji at the end of his speech was whether settlement was not made impossible by Indian representatives not agreeing among themselves on a communal question. Gandhiji while emphatically repudiating the suggestion said "I know you have been taught to think

like that you cannot shake off the spell of the hypnotic suggestion. My case is that alien rulers have ruled India on the principle of 'Divide and Rule'. No alien Imperial rule could go on in India unless the rulers now coquetted with one and then with the other party. We will continue to be divided so long as the wedge of foreign rule remains there, and sinks deeper and deeper. That is the way of the wedge. But take out the wedge and the split parts will instantly come together and unite. Again, the attainment of unity has been rendered a task of herculean difficulty by the composition of the Conference itself as all the delegates here are nominated, none of them is duly elected. If for instance, the Nationalist Muslims had been asked to elect their representative it would have been Dr. Ansari. Lastly, we should not forget that even if the present delegates had been elected they would have acted with a better sense of responsibility. We, on the other hand, are here on the sufferance of the British Prime Minister. We are responsible to nobody, we have no constituency to appeal to. Again, we are reminded that unless we agree among ourselves on the communal issue no progress is possible. In the very nature of the things, therefore, each pulls it a different way and to exact the utmost he can. Again, while the delegates are called upon to present an agreed communal solution, they are not told what they would get if they agree and so the incentive that could have made agreement beforehand possible is killed at the very start, rendering agreement very nearly impossible. Let the Government declare that they are going to withdraw from India whether Indians agreed or not and you will see that we shall then soon agree. The fact of the matter is that no one feels

that he is going to get real live liberty. What is offered is simply a share in the power of the bureaucracy to exploit India and this sets up an apple of discord in our midst. Further, the Government having made constitution-making dependent upon the solution of the communal question, every party is tempted to pitch its demand as high as possible. If the Government at all meant business it would unhesitatingly accept my suggestion, *viz.*, to appoint a judicial tribunal to decide the communal question at issue. If this is done there is every possibility of an agreed solution being reached without the intervention of the judicial tribunal."

### BRITAIN'S ONLY FUNCTION IN INDIA

In reply to a further question asking what would happen in India during the transition period if the British Government abdicated its function, Gandhiji said, "Alien rule is like a foreign matter in an organic body. Remove the poison and the body will at once start recuperating. It is preposterous to suggest that the British Government would be abdicating its function if it withdraws from India. The only function that it is fulfilling today is of exploiting India. Let Britain cease to exploit India and India will immediately revive economically."

### THE BRITISH BANIA

"You talk of the impoverishment of India as being the result of British exploitation" asked another member, "but is it not a fact that the real cause of the agriculturists' misery is the rapacity of the Bania and extravagance of expenditure on occasions of marriages and funerals. Finally, you charge the



British Government with extravagance But what have you to say to the extravagance of the Indian Princes ?”

“The Indian Bania” replied Gandhiji, “is not a patch upon the English Bania and if we were acting violently the Indian Bania would deserve to be shot But then, the British Bania would deserve to be shot a hundred times The rate of interest charged by the Indian Bania is nothing compared to the loot carried on by the British Bania through the jugglery of currency and merciless exactions of Land Revenue I do not know of another instance in history of such an organised exploitation of so unorganised and gentle a race As for the profligacy of the Indian Princes, while I would have little hesitation, if I had had the power, in dispossessing them of their insolent palaces, I would have infinitely less in depriving the British Government of New Delhi The extravagance of the Princes was nothing compared to the heartless squandering of crores of rupees on New Delhi to satisfy the whim of a Viceroy in order to reproduce England in India, when masses of people were dying of hunger ”

The question next asked was “Have the people of India themselves come to an agreement on fundamentals ?” “The Congress has come with an agreed scheme of communal settlement but it is not accepted Here at the Conference the Congress is only one of the many parties that are said to be represented here The organic fact, however, is that it is the only representative body speaking for the vast masses in India It is the one live, organic and independent organisation that has been functioning for close upon fifty years It is the only organisation that has stood the test of untold suffering It is

the Congress which arrived at a Settlement with the Government and, say what you will, it is the only organisation that will one day replace the present Government. My claim is that the scheme that it produced through a representative Committee of one Sikh, one Muslim and one Hindu member of its cabinet would stand the test of any judicial tribunal so far as fairness and justness is concerned.

An amusing question was asked by a friend who quoted a letter from the *Manchester Guardian* in which the correspondent questioned Gandhiji's authority to speak for the untouchables as he belonged to the priestly class which had kept that community depressed so far and asked whether Gandhiji himself was not a great hindrance in the way of a settlement. "I never knew", replied Gandhiji, "that I was a Brahmin but I do happen to be a Bania, which is certainly regarded as a term of painful reproach. But let me inform the audience that my community excommunicated me when I came to the English shores 40 years ago and the work that I have been doing entitles me to be called a farmer, weaver and untouchable. I was wedded to the work for the extinction of "untouchability" long before I was wedded to my wife. There were two occasions in our joint life when there was a choice between working for the untouchables and remaining with my wife and I would have preferred the first. But thanks to my good wife, the crisis was averted. In my Ashram, which is my family, I have several *Untouchables* and a sweet but naughty girl living as my own daughter. As to whether I am acting as a hindrance to a Settlement, I confess I am, for the simple reason that I would not be satisfied with any compromise short of real complete independence for India."

The last question put to Gandhiji was as follows

### HEAD OR HEART

“ Sometimes we have found it difficult to reconcile the special form of united protest that you have evolved, with an appeal to reason. What is it that makes you sometimes feel that appeal to reason should be put aside in favour of more drastic action ?

“ Up to the year 1906”, replied Gandhiji, “ I simply relied on appeal to reason. I was a very industrious reformer. I was a good draftsman, as I always had a close grip of facts which in its turn was the necessary result of my meticulous regard for truth. But I found that reason failed to produce an impression when the critical moment arrived in South Africa. My people were excited,—even worm will and does sometimes turn !—and there was talk of wreaking vengeance. I had then to choose between allying myself to violence or finding out some other method of meeting the crisis and stopping the riot and it came to me that we should refuse to obey legislation that was degrading and let them put us in jail if they liked. Thus, came into being the moral equivalent of war. I was then a loyalist, because, I implicitly believed that the sum total of the activities of the British Empire was good for India and for humanity. Arriving in England soon after the outbreak of the war I plunged into it and later when I was forced to go to India as a result of the pleurisy that I had developed, I led a recruiting campaign at the risk of my life, and to the horror of some of my friends. The disillusionment came in 1919 after the passage of the Black Rowlat Act and the refusal of the

Government to give the simple elementary redress of proved wrongs that we had asked for And so, in 1920, I became a rebel Since then the conviction has been growing upon me, that things of fundamental importance to the people are not secured by reason alone but have to be purchased with their suffering Suffering is the law of human beings, war is the law of the jungle But suffering is infinitely more powerful than the law of the jungle for converting the opponent and opening his ears, which are otherwise shut, to the voice of reason Nobody has probably drawn up more petitions or espoused more forlorn causes than I, and I have come to this fundamental conclusion that if you want something really important to be done you must not merely satisfy the reason, you must move the heart also The appeal of reason is more to the head but the penetration of the heart comes from suffering. It opens up the inner understanding in man Suffering is the badge of the human race, not the sword "

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## WITH MADAME MONTESSORI.

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Madame Montessori's meeting with Gandhiji was the meeting of a soul with a soul. She was so deeply touched that she wrote "Gandhi appears to me as a soul rather than a man. He had been in my thoughts for years. I have followed him with my soul. His gentleness, his sweetness was such, that it was as if in the whole world there existed no such thing as harshness, he gave himself freely and fully, as if no limits or obstacles existed, strong direct as a ray of sunshine. It seemed to me this venerable being might greatly aid the teachers whom I am preparing. The teacher should be open-hearted and generous, should change his own soul that he may come forth from the harsh world of the adults, that world full of obstacles thwarting the life of humanity. May his meeting with our teachers aid us in the spiritual defence of the child in humanity." *Gadis* and pillows were provided for us to sit on and the children—from the poor borough of Islington—all like little angels, clean and sweet, and simply dressed, with bare legs and feet, gave Gandhiji a right Indian greeting—*Namaskar*. And then the little ones treated us to what they had been taught—rhythmic movement, little acts of concentration and will power, instrumental music and last, but not least, an exercise in silence. It impressed all those present greatly. In Madame Montessori, surrounded by her children, one had a vision of the world set free for the children—children, the only creation of the Maker most akin to Himself. Even if Madame Montessori's educational ambition may not bear full

fruit, she will have rendered a unique service to humanity by turning the attention of parents and teachers to the adorable in the child. In sweet musical Italian she gave Gandhiji a brief welcome, which her secretary translated into English. And even the translation thrills one through and through.

"I address myself to the pupils of my course and also to the friends here. I have a great thing to say to you—the Soul of Gandhi—that great Soul of which we are so conscious is here with us, incarnate in his bodily form. The voice which we shall soon have the privilege of hearing is that voice which sounds throughout the world. He speaks with love, and not merely with his voice: does he speak but with his whole life. Such a rare thing is this, that when it happens, every ear listens.

Noble Master! I am proud, that the voice which is privileged to give you your welcome here, should be the voice of one of the Latin races—a voice from Rome, the great city Rome, cradle of the religious thoughts of the West. I wish that I could here present incarnate all the life and thought of the West to do honour to the East. I present you here my students. There are not only my students, but there are friends of their friends, and their relations gathered here together. But among my students there are people of many many nations. Here met together are the generous-hearted English teachers and many students from India—Italian students, Dutch, German, Danes, Swedes, Czechoslovaks, Austrians, Hungarians, Americans, Australians, students from New Zealand, South Africa, Canada and from Ireland. They are all here out of love for the child.

The world civilisation and thought of the child, this is what links us and brings us together in your presence, O Master For we teach children to live, to live that spiritual life upon which alone can be built up the peace of the world That is why the students are gathered together here to hear the voice of a Master in the art of life and for all of us—students and their friends, this will be a memorable day in our lives These 24 little English children, who have prepared themselves and worked for you, are living symbols of the new child that is to be. We all await from you the word ”

This had the tremendous effect of smiting all the cords of Gandhiji's heart which, trembling produced a music worthy of the great occasion It was at once a message and a charter for the parents and children in all parts of the world I reproduce it here in full

### PARENTS' RESPONSIBILITY.

“Madame, you have overwhelmed me with your words It is perfectly true, I must admit it in all humility, that however indifferently it may be, I endeavour to represent love in every fibre of my being I am impatient to realise the presence of my Maker, who to me embodies Truth, and in the early part of my career I discovered that if I was to realise Truth I must obey, even at the cost of my life, the law of Love And having been blessed with children, I discovered that the law of Love could be best understood and learned through little children Were it not for us, their ignorant poor parents, our children would be perfectly innocent I believe implicitly that the child is not born mischievous in the bad sense of the term

If parents would behave themselves whilst the child is growing, before it is born and after, it is a well-known fact that the child would instinctively obey the law of Truth and the law of Love. And when I understood this lesson in the early part of my life, I began a gradual but distinct change in life.

"I do not propose to describe to you the several phases through which this stormy life of mine has passed, but I can only, in truth and in perfect humility bear witness to the fact that to the extent that I have represented Love in my life, in thought, word, and deed I have realised the "Peace that passeth understanding." I have baffled many of my friends when they have noticed in me peace that they have envied, and they have asked me for the cause of that priceless possession. I have not been able to explain the cause save by saying that if my friends found that peace in me, it was due to my attempt to obey this, the greatest law of our being.

"It was in 1915 when I reached India, that I first became acquainted with your activities. It was in a place called Amreli that I found that there was a little school being conducted after the Montessori system. Your name had preceded that first acquaintance. I found no difficulty in finding out at once that this school was not carrying out the spirit of your teaching, the letter was there, but whilst there was an honest—more or less honest—effort being made, I saw too that there was a great deal of tinsel about it.

### NATURE AS TEACHER

"I came in touch, then, with more such schools, and the more I came in touch, the more I began to understand that the



foundation was good and splendid, if the children could be taught through the laws of nature—nature, consistent with human dignity, not nature that governs the beast. I felt instinctively from the way in which the children were being taught that whilst they were being indifferently taught, the original teaching was conceived in obedience to this fundamental law. Since then, I have had the pleasure of coming across several of your pupils, one of whom had even made a pilgrimage to Italy and had received your personal blessing. I was looking forward to meeting the children here and you all and it was a great pleasure to me to see these children. I had taken care to learn something about these little children. I had a fore-taste of what I saw here, in Birmingham, where there is a school between which and this there is a difference. But I also saw that there also human nature was struggling to express itself. I see the same thing here and it was a matter of inexpressible joy to me that from their childhood the children were brought to understand the virtue of silence, and how in response to the whisper from their teacher the children came forward one after another in that pin-drop silence. It gave me great joy to see all those beautiful rhythmic movements and, as I was watching those movements of the children, my whole heart went out to the millions of the children of the semi-starved villages of India, and I asked myself as my heart went out to those children, "Is it possible for me to give them those lessons and the training that are being given under your system, to those children? We are conducting an experiment amongst the poorest of the children in India. I do not know how far the experiment will go. We have the problem of giving real vital

education to these children of India's hovels, and we have no material means

## THE CHILD AS TEACHER

"We have to fall back upon the voluntary assistance of teachers, but when I look for teachers, they are very few, especially, teachers of the type wanted, in order to draw the best from the children through understanding, through studying their individuality and then putting the child on its own resources, as it were, on its own honour. And believe me, from my experience of hundreds, I was going to say thousands, of children,—I know that they have perhaps a finer sense of honour than you and I have. The greatest lessons in life—if we would but stoop and humble ourselves, we would learn, not from grown-up learned men, but from the so-called ignorant children. Jesus never uttered a loftier or a grander truth than when he said that wisdom cometh out of the mouths of babes. I believe it, I have noticed it in my own experience that if we would approach babes in humility and in innocence, we would learn wisdom from them.

"I must not take up your time. I have simply given you what is, at the present moment, agitating me, namely, the delicate problem considered in human terms of drawing out the best from these millions of children of whom I have told you. But I have learned this one lesson—that what is impossible with man is child's play with God and if we have faith in that Divinity which preside on the destiny of the meanest of His creation, I have no doubt that all things are possible and in that final hope, I live and pass my time and endeavour to obey His

will. Therefore, I repeat that even as you, out of your love for children, are endeavouring to teach those children through your numerous institutions, the best that can be brought out of them, even so, I hope that it will be possible not only for the children of the wealthy and the well-to-do but for the children of the paupers to receive training of this nature. You have very truly remarked that if we are to reach real peace in this world and if we are to carry on a real war against war, we shall have to begin with children and if they will grow up in their natural innocence, we won't have the struggle, we won't have to pass fruitless idle resolutions, but we shall go from love to love and peace to peace until at last all the corners of the world are covered with that peace and love for which consciously or unconsciously the whole world is hungering.

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## NEGOTIATING WITH THE "REBEL"



A Scene from the Round Table    Gandhi is seated next to Lord Sankey, British Lord Chancellor

# MESSAGE TO AHMEDABAD WORKERS

ହାଜିରା କରାଯାଇ ଏହି,

ଏହି କାର୍ଯ୍ୟରେ ଅବଦାନ କରନ୍ତୁ ।  
ଏହା ଶୁଭକାମୀ ।

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3-2-30 ଏହି କାର୍ଯ୍ୟରେ ଅବଦାନ କରନ୍ତୁ ।  
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## AMONGST THE INDIAN SOCIALISTS.

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During the last few days Gandhiji has expressed himself on all the crucial questions of the hour at one meeting or another in London or other places. I propose to put all that he has said in the form of answers to questions, in his own language.

*Would you not use salt for taxing and balancing the budget? Would you not agree to the Federation having limitless powers to tax some articles including salt?*

The Federation should have no right to tax salt. Not unless I wanted to commit the sin of taxing the poor. Would I think of balancing the budget by taxing salt? If you want to balance the budget why not cut down the military expenditure? It would be a crime against humanity to add to the already heavy burden of the poor Indian tax-payer. You may as well tax air and water and expect India to live.

Nothing provokes Gandhiji more than what he has often called the colossal ignorance of India in England. At a very influential gathering of Englishmen and Englishwomen, drawn from all parts of England and representing many institutions and many interests, he said: "Who is it that can say that you have conferred benefits on India? We or you? The toad beneath the harrow knows where the harrow pinches. A series of men, Dadabhai Naoroji, Pherozeshah Mehta, Ranade, Gokhale—who used to dote on you, who were proud of British contact and of the benefits conferred by your civilisa-

tion—do you know that they are all agreed in saying that you have on the whole done harm to India? When you go, you will have left us an impoverished and emasculated people, and the shades of all who loved you will ask, what have you done during these years of tutelage? You must realise that we cannot afford to have doorkeepers at your rate of wages, for you are no better than doorkeepers and a nation with an income of two pence a day per head cannot pay those wages. I cannot too often repeat that whilst your Prime Minister's wage is 50 times your average income, the Viceroy of India draws, 5,000 times the average income of an Indian. We are a weak nation you say. Well, we have stout hearts. The frail Indian women, unlettered and uneducated—no second or third editions of Mrs Naidu—received *lathi* blows breast forward. We are not skilled in administration. Well, was it not Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman who said that good Government is no substitute for self-government? You, who are past masters in making mistakes, you, who in the language of Lord Salisbury know the art of blundering through to success, will not give us the liberty of making mistakes? We want complete freedom from alien control. The iron has entered the soul of thousands and thousands of men and women who are impatient of alien control. We are impatient to gain this freedom, with your help, if you will, without your help, if we must.

## SERVICE CRITERION

And what is this bugbear of the Minorities question? I cannot for the life of me understand it. You call Congress one of the many organisations or the biggest organisation. I

say to you that the Congress is not only the biggest organisation, but it is the most predominant organisation, an organization which alone has fought for freedom. It was at the call of the Congress that hundreds of villagers were nearly swept out of existence, crops worth thousands, burnt or sold for a song and lands worth lakhs confiscated and sold. Do you suppose we have gone through all this agony for a mess of pottage? The Congress, says the fable, is a Hindu organisation. Do you suppose all that fought and went to prisons and died last year were only Hindus? There were several thousands of Musalmans amongst them, and there were also Sikhs and Christians, Parsis and all. Do not talk of a majority or a minority community. The Congress alone is the biggest majority community. You want us to have regard to the claims of Minorities. Do you want the Congress to parcel out India in small sections for Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians, and among them I suppose Protestants and Catholics, and Europeans, and among them also Protestants and Catholics, and then as many subsections of Hindus as you please—Jains and Buddhists and Sanatanists and Samajists and so on? I, for one, will be no party to this heartless process of vivisection. Is that how you propose to make a nation by your policy of divide and rule? The small Minorities have a perfect right to demand full civic rights. But don't encourage them to ask for separate representation. They can enter the legislatures by the open door of election. Why are Anglo-Indians afraid of their interests being neglected? Because they are Anglo-Indians? No, they are afraid because they have not served India. Let them follow the example of the Parsis who have served India and who do not ask for separate electorates. That is because they know that they will



be in legislature by sheer right of service Dadabhai Naoroji's whole life was dedicated to the service of India and his four grand-daughters, all cultured and educated like any English girls, are slaving for the peasants of India One of them was the dictator of a province and then she stood for election to provincial council, she topped the polls She is at the present moment spreading the cult of charkha among the Frontier Pathans and ruling their hearts. Let Anglo-Indians too enter the legislatures by the open door of service And even so Englishmen. Is it not a shame that Englishmen will still claim privileges in a country they have helped to impoverish and claim separate elections in a poor nation's legislature? No, I will never be guilty of parcelling out my country to these groups It will be nothing short of vivisection of a whole nation "

## AMONG THE SOCIALISTS

Mrs. Naidu, who has in her somewhat of the ancient Roman dames' love for gladiatorial combats no less than their proverbial pride in their young children, introduced to Gandhiji the other day, a group of youngmen who were all more or less exiles from their mother country and were dreadfully in earnest They took up a formidable array of questions which they had left with Gandhiji a few days back Some of these questions and Gandhiji's replies are reproduced below

*How exactly do you think the Indian Princes, Landlords, Millowners and money-lenders and other profiteers are enriched?*

At the present moment by exploiting the masses

*Can these classes be enriched without the exploitation of the Indian workers and peasants ?*

To a certain extent, yes

## SOCIETY

*Have these classes any social justification to live more comfortably than the ordinary worker and peasant who does the work which provides their wealth ?*

No justification My idea of society is that while we are born equal, meaning that we have a right to equal opportunity, all have not the same capacity It is, in the nature of things, impossible For instance, all cannot have the same height, or colour or degree of intelligence, etcetra, therefore, in the nature of things, some will have ability to earn more and others less People with talents will have more, and they will utilise their talents for this purpose If they utilise their talents kindly, they will be performing the work of the State Such people exist as trustees, on no other terms I would allow a man of intellect to earn more, I would not cramp his talents But the bulk of his greater earnings must be used for the good of the State, just as the income of all earning sons of the father go to the common family fund They would have their earnings only as trustees It may be that I would fail miserably in this But that is what I am sailing for And that is what is implied in the Declaration of Fundamental Rights too

*Don't you think that the Peasants and Workers are justified in carrying on a class war for economic and social emancipation so that they can be free once and for all from the burden of supporting parasitic classes in society ?*

No. I myself am carrying on a revolution on their behalf. But it is a non-violent revolution.

*By your movement for the reduction of rents in the U. P. you may ameliorate the condition of the peasants, but you do not strike at the root of the system.*

Yes. But you can't do everything at one and the same time

*How then will you bring about the trusteeship? Is it by persuasion?*

Not merely by verbal persuasion. I will concentrate on my means. Some have called me the greatest revolutionary of my time. It may be false, but I believe myself to be a revolutionary—a non-violent revolutionary. My means are non-cooperation. No person can amass wealth without the cooperation, willing or forced, of the people concerned

*Who constituted the capitalists trustees? Why are they entitled to a commission, and how will you fix the commission?*

They will be entitled to a commission because money is in their possession. Nobody constituted them trustees. I am inviting them to act as trustees. I am inviting those people who consider themselves as owners today to act as trustees: *i. e.* owners, not in their own right, but owners, in the right of those whom they have exploited. I will not dictate to them what commission to take, but ask them to take what is fair: *e. g.* I would ask a man who possesses Rs 100 to take Rs 50 and give the other Rs 50 to the workers. But to him who

possesses Rs 10,000,000 I would perhaps say take 1% for yourself So, you see that my commission would not be a fixed figure because that would result in atrocious injustice

## THE PRIVILEGED CLASSES

The masses do not to-day see in landlords and other profiteers their enemy But the consciousness of the wrong done to them by these classes has to be created in them I do not teach the masses to regard the capitalists as their enemies, but I teach them they are their own enemies Non-cooperators never told the people that the British or Gen Dyer were bad, but that they were the victims of a system So that, the system must be destroyed and not the individual That is the reason why British officials can live with impunity in a population so fired with the desire for freedom

*If you want to attack a system there can be no difference between an Indian Capitalist and an English Capitalist Why do you not apply non-payment of taxes to Zemindars ?*

The Zemindar is merely a tool of a system It is not necessary to take up a movement against them at the same time as against the British system It is possible to distinguish between the two But we had to tell the people not to pay to the Zemindars, because, out of this money the Zemindars paid to the Government But we have no quarrel with the Zemindars as such, so long as they act well by the tenants

*What is your concrete programme to put the peasant and worker in absolute power to decide his own destiny ?*

My programme is the programme I am working out through the Congress. I am convinced that as a result of it their position today is infinitely superior to what they had occupied within living memory. I don't now refer to their material condition, I refer to the immense awakening that has come among them and the consequent ability to resist injustice and exploitation.

*How do you propose to relieve the peasantry of their debt of five hundred crores?*

No one knows the exact amount of debt. Such as it is, if the Congress gets the power, the Congress will undertake the scrutiny of the so-called obligations of the peasantry as it insists with regard to the obligations of the incoming Indian Government to be taken over from the out-going alien Government.

Equally characteristic was Gandhiji's reply to the next question, asking him why he had not demanded the inclusion in the R T C of representatives of the Indian States Subjects and whether, if in a Federal India, the Indian States Subjects resorted to Civil Disobedience to secure their rights, Federal forces would be used to help the Princes suppress that rising. He would never use them or allow them to be used for suppression of Civil Disobedience in any walk of life, he replied, because he held Satyagraha to be a permanent Law of man's being which took the place entirely of violence which was the Law of the beast. As for the first question, it was not open to him, or rather it would not have been consistent with the dignity of the Congress to demand the inclusion of

any body in a Conference in the making of which it had no power. "I could not plead on behalf of the Congress" he explained on the Congress being an erstwhile rebel against the Government could not consistently entreat for, not for the inclusion of anybody in the Conference "

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## UNCLE GANDHI.

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The child who has given Gandhiji the pet name of "Uncle Gandhi" is a boy of three in the children's House attached to Kingsley Hall. Ever since the children saw Gandhiji, he has been in their days and their dreams. 'Now, tell me, mummy, what does Gandhi eat, and why does not he wear shoes?' and so on and so forth. One day the mother said. "No, look here, you mustn't say "Gandhi," but Mr. Gandhi. You know Mr Gandhi is a very good man." "I am sorry, mummy," says the little tot making amends, I will call him "Uncle Gandhi." God has similarly met with the same fate and He is called "Uncle God," but that story I shall omit, for it is no part of my story. So the name caught on, and on his birthday the little children sent to "dear Uncle Gandhi" birthday presents in the shape of a toy dog and sweets, and wished "you had a birthday cake with icing and a bird on it. Please will you come here on your birthday and we will have band and play music about 'daisy' and 'away in a manger' and light candles."

But there is one who does not belong to the Children's House but is growing up under her parents' care. She is just four and this is how she tries to keep the memory of an evening with Gandhiji green. "I have a bone to pick with you," said her father to Gandhiji on the birthday. "And what is it?" asked Gandhiji laughing. "Well my little Jane comes every morning to me, hits me and wakes me up and says, "now don't you hit back, for Gandhi told us the other

day never to hit back!" There are others who, their parents lovingly complain, have become little handfuls inasmuch as they insist on being awakered early morning to say "good morning" to Gandhiji when he goes out for a walk, and the parents, who have been no early risers, are hard put to it to wake up early and wake the little ones early. Perhaps, these little ones will grow up into sturdy rebels in future and prove a handful to the parents, if the latter refuse to grow with them. That I am building no castles in the air, but on the solid rock of fact, will be apparent from what the little children have imbibed

Here, for instance, is an essay written on the birthday by a small girl (I forget her age, but I know she is less than ten)

"St Francis of Assisi was called the little poor man of Assisi. He was just like Gandhi in every way.

"They both loved nature, such as the children, birds and flowers. Gandhi wears loin-clothes like St Francis did, when he was on earth

"Gandhi and St Francis were sons of rich merchants. One night while St Francis was feasting with his followers, he thought of the poor Italians. He ran out and gave up his rich clothes and his money to the poor and dressed himself in old sacks, just like Gandhi.

"St Francis of Assisi took some of his followers. They made huts of trees. Gandhi did the very same thing. He gave up all his rich gay life to the poor Indian people.

"Gandhi's people gave him his loin clothes to come to



London, As he told us children who go to Kingsly Hall that he was not rich enough to buy them

“On Monday he has a day's silent for that is their religion Gandhi for his birthday present had wooden toys, candles and sweets He lives on goat's milk, nuts and also fruit.”

Here is another by a boy of ten, reproduced as it is, without a change of spelling or grammar like the foregoing

“Mr. Gandhi is an Indian who was educated as a law student in London in 1890 He gave up this to help his country get better conditions

“He has come to England for the Indian Round Table Conference to try and get back the trade for India He has been trying to get the ‘Brahmins’ to let the ‘Untouchables’ come into their temples They are about 6,000,000 people who do not know what a good meal is He has given up all his belongings and is trying to be one of the poorest Indians That is why he wears loin-cloth.

“His food is goat's milk, fruit, and vegetables He does not eat meat or fish because he does not believe in taking life Gandhi is a Christian Indian

“Mr Gandhi spins his own cotton He does an hour's spinning every day in England and even when he was in hospital He has just come back from Lancashire visiting the cotton mills

"He prays from Sunday 7 p m till Monday 7 p m and if you speak to him he does not answer you When he came visiting, he came to my house and my mother was ironing, but he said "Don't stop for I have had to do that myself" I have shaken hands with him The Indian word for "Hullo" or 'Good-bye' is '*Namaskar*'

W A I Saville, 21 Eagling Road, Bow,  
London, E 3 30-9-31 "

How real and true and priceless, before the worthless piffle that some of the journalists spin out and make thrilling 'story' out of!

I must say that this is the result of what their teachers have taught them, and what they have learnt from a contact with Gandhiji

In contrast with this, here is a picture of a school in the country, about 40 miles from London I visited in company with Mr Brailsford "Now tell me," I asked them, "the name of the country I come from " There was a few moments' silence but at last the five year old daughter of the teacher said, "Form a nigger country " Her neighbour, slightly older, was shocked and whispered into her ears "He is not dark He is an Indian " In another class Mr Brailsford asked where India was on the map They showed India quite all right, but the teacher immediately added to their knowledge "It is a country under our flag, and this gentleman has come to demand rights for his people " Poor things, they had not heard of "Gandhi," but I discovered later on that the boy who whispered into the ears of the girl and corrected her

was the son of a working woman who reads newspapers and has a great regard for Gandhiji.

The pictures of the Children's House I have given are a tribute to those in charge of the House, as also a specimen of the coming generation. Thousands upon thousands of children in England will have seen Gandhiji before he leaves the English shores. And who knows, it may be this generation with whom we may have to settle accounts after all ! They will be much better and more fair-minded parties to deal with, than the present parties fed on the dailies that can say nothing good of India and do say much that is bad and untrue.

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## IN FRANCE, ITALY and SWITZERLAND.

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Relations between Capital and Labour

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I had to leave out from my last letter quite a large number of questions and answers at various meetings in France and Switzerland. I take them up this week. I begin with the important meeting in the Victoria Hall in Geneva, the hall which is considered to be one of the best in the world and is the gift of an Englishman to Switzerland. Over two thousand men and women had gathered together to listen to Gandhiji at the usual lunch hour. Train times made any other inconvenient, and though it was feared that the attendance would be smaller because of the unsuitable hour, people seemed to have decided once in a way to miss their luncheons and every seat in the hall as well as in the three or four galleries was occupied. The questions were naturally suggested by the Venke the seat of the League of Nations and International Labour Office and numerous other international organisations. Gandhiji in his preliminary remarks made a brief reference to the League and then proceeded to answer some of the questions. "You have," he said, "in this city of yours central office of the League of Nations. That League is expected to perform wonders. It is expected to replace war, and by its own power, to arbitrate between nations who might have differences amongst themselves. But it has always seemed to me that the League lacks the necessary sanctions. It depends, as it has to, largely if not exclusively, for its

decisions to be effective, on the good-will of the nations concerned. I venture to suggest to you that the means we have adopted in India supply the necessary sanction, not only to a body like the League of Nations, but to any voluntary body or association that would take up this great cause of the peace of the world."

## THE LAW OF THE JUNGLE.

Q How can workers obtain justice without violence? If capitalists use force to suppress their efforts, why should the workers not try to destroy their oppressors?

A. This of course is the old law, the law of the jungle—blow against blow, I am endeavouring to make the non-violent experiment, which I consider essential *viz.* that of getting rid of the law of the jungle which is ill-suited to man.

You may not know that I am supposed to be the Chief Adviser of a Labour Union in a place called Ahmedabad which has commanded the unsolicited testimony of many labour experts, who have visited the place. Through this Labour union we have been endeavouring to enforce this method of non-violence in connection with questions arising between capital and labour for the past fifteen years. Therefore, what I am now about to tell you is based upon actual experience, in the very line about which the question has been asked. In my humble opinion Labour can always vindicate itself if Labour is sufficiently united and self-sacrificing. No matter how oppressive the capitalists may be, I am convinced that those who are connected with Labour and guide the Labour have themselves no idea of the resources that Labour

can command and which Capital can never command. If Labour would only understand and recognise that Capital is perfectly helpless without Labour, Labour will immediately come to its own.

## LABOUR IS CAPITAL.

We have unfortunately come under the hypnotic suggestion and the hypnotic influence of Capital, so that we have come to believe that Capital is all in all on this earth. But a moment's thought would show that Labour has at its disposal capital which the Capitalists will never possess. Ruskin taught in his age that Labour had unrivalled opportunities. But he spoke above our heads. At the present moment there is an Englishman, Sir Daniel Hamilton, who is really making that very experiment. He is an economist. He is a capitalist also but through his economic research and experiments he has come to the same conclusions as Ruskin had arrived at intuitively, and he has brought to Labour a vital message. He says it is wrong to think that a piece of metal constitutes capital. He says it is wrong even to think that so much produce is capital, but he adds that if we go to the very source, it is Labour that is capital, and that living capital is inexhaustible. It is upon that law that we have been working in the Labour Union at Ahmedabad. It has been that law under which we have been working in our fight against the Government. It is that law, the recognition of which delivered 1,700,000 people in Champaran inside six months from a century long tyranny. I must not tarry to tell you what that tyranny was but those who are interested in that problem will be able to study every one of the facts that I have put before them. Now I will tell you

what we have done There is in English a very potent word, and you have it in French also, all the languages of the world have it—it is “No,” and the secret that we have hit upon is that when capital wants Labour to say “Yes,” Labour roars out “No,” if it means “No.” And immediately labour comes to recognise that it has got the choice before it of saying “Yes” when it wants to say “Yes” and “No,” when it wants to say “No.” Labour is free of Capital and Capital has to woo Labour. And it would not matter in the slightest degree that Capital has guns and even poison gas at its disposal Capital would still be perfectly helpless if Labour would assert its dignity by making good its “No ” The Labour does not need to retaliate but Labour stands defiant receiving the bullets and poison gas and still insists upon its “No ” The whole reason why Labour so often fails is that instead of sterilising Capital as I have suggested, Labour, (I am speaking as a labourer myself) wants to seize that capital and become capitalist itself in the worst sense of the term. And the capitalist, therefore, who is properly entrenched and organised, finding among the labourers also candidates for the same office makes use of a portion of these to suppress Labour If we really were not under this hypnotic<sup>2</sup> spell, everyone of us, men and women, would recognise this rock-bottom truth without the slightest difficulty Having proved it for myself, through a series of experiments carried on in different departments of life, I am speaking to you with authority (you will pardon me for saying so) that when I put this scheme before you, it was not as something super-human but as something within the grasp of every labourer, man or woman Again, you will see that what labour is called upon to do under this scheme of non-

Violence is nothing more than what the Swiss soldier does under gun-fire, or the ordinary soldier who is armed from top to toe is called upon to do. While he undoubtedly seeks to inflict death and destruction upon his adversary he also carries his own life in his pocket. I want Labour, then, to copy the courage of the soldier without copying the brute in the soldier, namely the ability to inflict death, and I suggest to you that a labourer who courts death and has the courage to die without even carrying arms, with no weapon of self-defence, shows a courage of a much higher degree than a man who is armed from top to toe.

## DISARMAMENT AND MILITARISM.

Q. Since disarmament depends chiefly on the Great Powers why recommend it to a small State like Switzerland which is neutral and non-aggressive?

A. In the first place, from this neutral ground I am speaking to all the Powers of Europe and not merely to Switzerland. If you do not want to carry this message to other parts of Europe I shall at least be absolved from all blame. Secondly, seeing that Switzerland is a neutral territory, and Switzerland really is not aggressive, it does not need an army. Seeing that through your hospitality and by reason of your occupying this vantage ground in Europe you attract people of all nations of the world, is it not better for you to give the whole world a lesson in Disarmament and show the world that you are brave enough to do without arms?

Q. Why do you ignore the sacred traditions of military development? Without it most of the heroic virtues would be



impossible. Don't you know that the mere presence of the Swiss army at the Frontier saved us from being overrun by foreign armies ?

A. Forgive me, if I say that double ignorance underlies this question. The questioner errs in deploring the fact that if you renounce the military training you would be deprived of the education that you receive in service and sacrifice. For, a non-violent army requires all the hard training and discipline of an ordinary army. Non-violence is made of sterner stuff than soldiering. No one need run away with the idea that because you avoid or give up military conscription you are not in for another conscription of nobler, and if you will, a severer type. When I spoke to you about Labour I told you that Labour had got to assimilate all the nobler qualities of soldiering, that is endurance and defiance of death, because it is not suggested that when you have disarmed yourselves and given up soldiering, you will have a merry time. It is not as if you are absolved from the duty of saving and protecting your homes when you give up soldiering, but on the contrary your women and children will also be taking part in defending their homes. Again I am talking to you with experience. In the little institution that I am conducting we are teaching our women and our children also how to save that institution. We are living in isolation and often have visitations of thieves. Everything becomes simple and easy immediately you learn the lesson of giving up your own life in order to save the lives of others. And lastly it is really forgotten that an individual ensures his own safety when he comes unafraid before the whole world and impresses

it with his innocence. The second part of the question betrays the second error. I must respectfully deny the truth of the statement that the presence of the Swiss army prevented the war from affecting Switzerland. Although Belgium had its own Army it was not saved from the horrors of military occupation and if the rival powers had wanted a passage through Switzerland, believe me, they would have fought Switzerland also. You may say that in that case you would have fought and returned blow for blow. But if I had time I could show you that you could have fought much more successfully by non-violence, if the Powers had dared to cross your territory.

## DUTY OF NEUTRAL COUNTRIES

Q Would it not be cowardly of a neutral country to let another country pass and stab a third country in the back? How can a neutral country that is disarmed prevent a passage of this sort?

A At the risk of being considered a visionary or a fool, I shall answer this question in the way I know. It *would* be cowardly of a neutral country like this, and a brave one like this, to let that army pass through. But a moment ago I told you that there was one thing common between the soldiers of war and the soldiers of non-violence, and if I had been a citizen of Switzerland or President of the Federal State, what I would have done would be to invite every citizen to refuse passage to foreign armies by refusing all supplies. You would have presented a living wall of men, women and children to these armies who dared to cross your country and would invite

them to walk over your corpses. You may say, if you wish to, that such a thing is beyond human experience or beyond human endurance. Then I can tell you that it was not beyond human experience last year. We showed that such things could be done. Women stood without retaliation and without fear, without displaying the slightest cowardice. In Peshawar thousands of men stood in front of a hail of bullets without any retaliation whatsoever. Imagine such men and women standing in front of an army which want a safe passage. You may still say that then those armies would be so brutal and so hard-hearted as to walk over your corpses. I can then suggest to you that you would still have done your duty and recorded a glorious victory in the page of history. An army that dared to do so would not be able to repeat that experiment again. You may, if you wish, refuse to believe in the possibility of such courage on the part of such masses of women and men, but that would be an admission that non-violence is made of sterner stuff. It is not, and never was intended to be a weapon of the weak. It is conceived as a weapon of the stoutest hearts.

Here are questions asked at other meetings :

## PASSIVE RESISTANCE AND NON-VIOLENCE.

Q Must we go even to the extent of being killed by the authorities for refusing to render military service ?

A If a soldier who is armed with external weapons takes the vow of surrendering his life in doing his duty, *viz*, destroying his enemy, how much more should a lover of non-violence and truth pledge his life and all before he

embarks on his experiments? In a country like France where there is conscription my answer may savour of high treason against the State and as a guest-visitor passing through your city and spending a few hours here, it would be perhaps wisdom on my part to evade this question. But on your arches, on the gates of justice, in your law books, in your constitution, equality, liberty and fraternity are written in bold type, and let it be said to its credit that your Government has not up to now suppressed liberty of speech. Knowing, therefore, this great law of yours I have not hesitated to give the only reply that I could give to your question.

Q What is the distinction between the Christian doctrine of non-resistance and your resistance without violence? have you taken your principle from Tolstoy?

A It has often been said that I owe my principle of non-violent resistance to Tolstoy. It is not the whole truth. I derived the greatest benefit from his writings, but as Tolstoy himself admitted I cultivated and developed and elaborated the method in South Africa, so much so, that it looked quite different from the non-resistance that Tolstoy had written about and recommended. This I say in no derogation of Tolstoy. He is no apt pupil who will not build upon the foundation laid by his teacher for him. He only deserves a good teacher who would add to the legacy that the teacher has left him. I should be an unworthy son to my father if I should not add to my inheritance and so I have always regarded it as a matter of pride that, thanks be to God, what I have learnt from Tolstoy has fructified a hundredfold. Tolstoy talked of passive resistance largely, but the non violent

resistance elaborated in the Transvaal is a force infinitely more active than the resistance that an armed man can devise and I am glad to recall the fact that in a long letter he wrote to me unsolicited he said that his eyes were fixed upon me and my experiment wherever I was. If you study the movement in India and South Africa, you will find how this thing is capable of infinite expansion

## WOMEN AS THE STRONGER SEX

Q Is not non-resistance submission to the strong ?

A Passive resistance is regarded as the weapon of the weak but the resistance for which I had to coin a new name altogether is the weapon of the strongest. I had to coin a new word to signify what I meant. But its matchless beauty lies in the fact that though it is the weapon of the strongest it can be wielded by the weak in body, by the aged and even by the children if they have stout hearts. And since resistance in Satyagraha is offered through self-suffering it is a weapon pre-eminently open to women. We found last year that women in India in many instances surpassed their brothers in sufferings and the two played a noble part in the campaign. For the idea of self-suffering became contagious and they embarked upon amazing acts of self-denial. Supposing that the women and the children of Europe became fired with love of humanity they would take the men by storm and reduce Militarism to nothingness in an incredibly short time. The underlying idea is that women, children and others have the same soul same potentiality. The question is one of drawing out the limitless power of truth.

## WOMEN AND MILITARISM

At various meetings the question was pointedly asked as to how women may help in fighting militarism. In Italy at a private meeting Gandhi was asked to tell the women of Italy something they could learn from the women of India.

"If only women will forget that they belong to the weaker sex," he said in Paris, "I have no doubt that they can do infinitely more than men against war. Answer for yourselves what your great soldiers and generals would do if their wives and daughters and mothers refused to countenance their participation in any shape or form in militarism."

"I do not know," he said at Lausanne, "if I have the courage to give message for the women of Europe that you asked for. If I am to do so without incurring their wrath, I would direct their steps to the women of India who rose in one mass last year, and I really believe that if Europe will drink in the lesson of non-violence it will do so through its women. Woman, I hold, is the personification of self-sacrifice, but unfortunately today she does not realise what a tremendous advantage she has over man. As Tolstoy used to say they are labouring under the hypnotic influence of man. If they would realise the strength of non-violence they would not consent to be called the weaker sex."

6 Speaking to a group of women in Italy he said: "The beauty of non-violent war is that woman can play the same part in it as men. In a violent war the women have no such privilege, and the Indian women played a more effective part in our last non-violent war than men. The reason is simple

Non-violent war calls into play suffering to the largest extent, and who can suffer more purely and nobly than women? The women in India tore down the *purdah* and came forward to work for the nation. They saw that the country demanded something more than their looking after their homes. They manufactured contraband salt, they picketed foreign cloth shops and liquor shops and tried to wean both the seller and the customer from both. At late hours in the night they pursued the drunkards to their dens with courage and charity in their hearts. They marched to jails and they sustained *lathi* blows as few men did. If the women of the West will try to vie with men in becoming brutes, they have no lesson to learn from the women of India. They will have to cease to take delight in sending their husbands and sons to kill people and congratulate them on their valour."

## VEGETARIANISM AND LIQUOR

I summarise here for the benefit of the European reader Gandhiji's views on the value of vegetarian diet and on the baneful effect of liquor. The question was asked in a meeting of pacifists, and though there is nothing in it that is new for the Indian reader the European reader would like to have on record what Gandhiji said on these questions

"The vegetarian diet has priceless value for me, though it may have none for beef-eating Europe. But I do feel that spiritual progress does demand at some stage that we should cease to kill our fellow creatures for satisfaction of our bodily wants. The beautiful lines of Goldsmith occur to me as I tell you of my vegetarian fad

‘No flocks that range the valley free  
 To slaughter I condemn,  
 Taught by the power that pities me  
 I learn to pity them.’

‘Liquor, as we say, is an invention of the devil In Islam it is said that when Satan began to beguile men and women he dangled before them the “red water” I have seen in so many cases that liquor has not only robbed men of their money but of their reason, they have for the time being forgotten the distinction between wife and mother, lawful and unlawful I have seen drunken barristers wallowing in gutters carried home by the police I have found on two occasions captains of steamers so dead drunk as to be incapable of keeping charge of their boats, and the first officer had to take charge of their boats till they came to their senses For both flesh-meats and liquor the sovereign rule is “we must not live in order to eat and drink and be merry, but eat and drink in order to make our bodies temples of God and to use them for service of man” Liquor may be a medical necessity on occasion, and when life seems to be extinct it may be possible to prolong it with a dose of liquor, but that is about all that can be said for it It is quite possible to keep perfect health without flesh-meat, though it is possible that one may not develop brute strength or the cruelty of a soldier without flesh-meat You may not be knowing that Japan when she took to developing her military strength in imitation of the West, made beef-eating compulsory for its soldiers

---



## HAIL TO THEE!

Hail, hail to Thee Mahatma Ji!  
 The Christ of the day.  
 Though imprisoned for Thy Nation's cause,  
 How Cheerful and gay!

Apostle of peace for the blessings  
 Of the world Thou art.  
 Who feels for the poor and oppressed,  
 With an ocean wide heart

With sincerest greetings,  
 All Thy devotees pray,  
 At Thy feet, oh personified  
 Christ of the day!

Just as the mountains sublimate,  
 In the scorching rays, and burn  
 Out in rivers with life giving water,  
 To quench the human thirst

So with patience and fortitude  
 Always thou dost suffer  
 And empty out thyself,  
 Like the world's true Lover

Hark! Hark! the wide world's true cries  
 Have flooded the ocean and sea  
 All joined in hand and hearts together,  
 On the altar left by Thee

I one of the lesser amongst them  
 Looking also for the Goal -  
 And singing Thy song before the world;  
 With the broken harp of my soul.

—SATISH DAS GUPTA

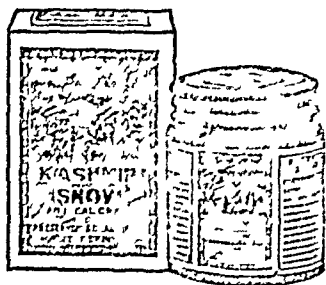


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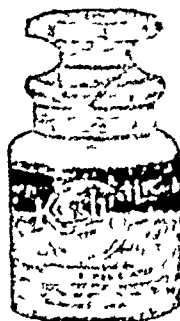
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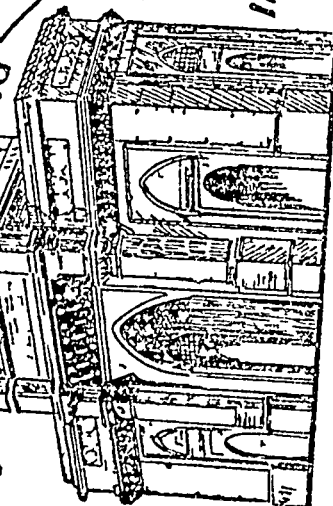
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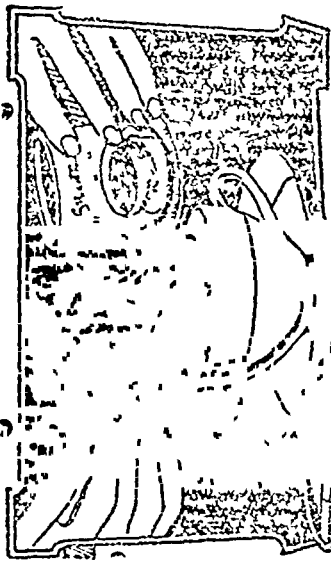
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